DOCUMENTS AND NARRATIVES

CONCERNING THE

DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

OF LATIN AMERICA

PUBLISHED BY

THE CORTES SOCIETY

NEW YORK

Central BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

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To His Excellency Arthur
H. Geissler as remembrance
of our sincere friendship.

Guatemala, sept 6th, 1926

Rob Spinelli

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NUMBER THREE

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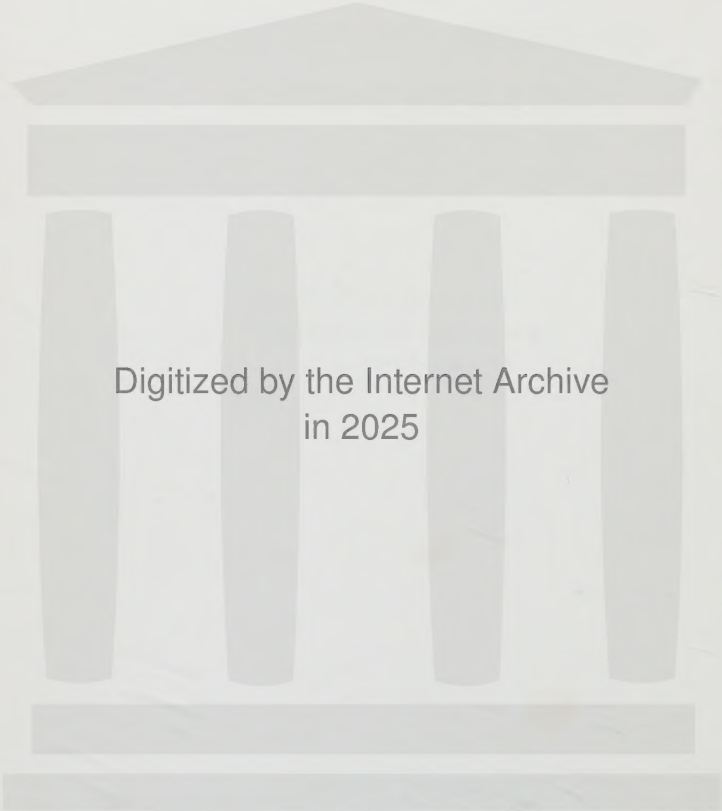
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PORTRAIT OF PEDRO DE ALVARADO FROM THE PAINTING IN THE CABILDO OF GUATEMALA. DRAWN BY WILLIAM BAAKE

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA
IN 1524 BY
PEDRO DE ALVARADO

EDITED BY
SEDLEY J. MACKIE
WITH A FACSIMILE OF THE
SPANISH ORIGINAL, 1525

THE CORTES SOCIETY
NEW YORK
1924

EDICION LIMITADA DE 50 EXEMPLARES
PARA LA REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA

THIS COPY IS NUMBER 2

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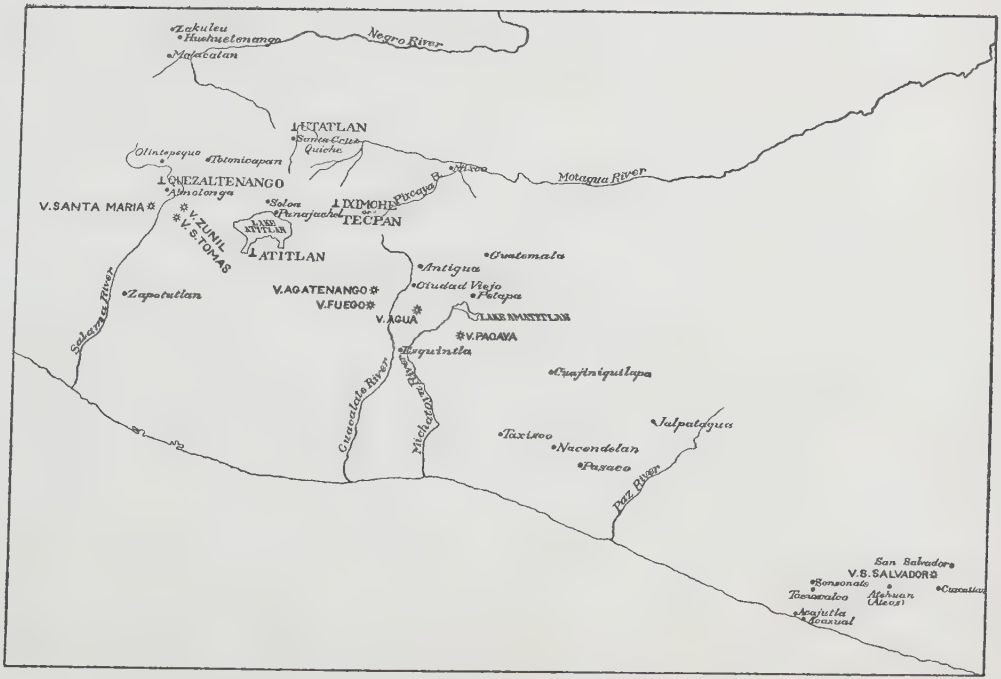

SKETCH MAP OF GUATEMALA AND SALVADOR

FOREWORD

In December 1523, Hernando Cortes sent his captain Pedro de Alvarado from the city of Mexico to undertake the subjugation of Guatemala. Alvarado accomplished the conquest of the country in short order in April 1524, after a veritable slaughter of the Indians.

In commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the downfall of the so-called Indian empire of old Guatemala, and of the conquest of the country by the Spaniards, the Cortes Society has deemed it opportune to publish for the first time in the English language, in a single volume, the two letters of Pedro de Alvarado to Hernando Cortes, containing the official report of the events of this conquest. They were first printed as an appendix to the Fourth Letter of Relation of Hernando Cortes, the first edition of which came from the press of Gaspar de Avila, in Toledo, under date of October 20, 1525. This book is one of the rarest books of Americana, and perhaps not a single copy exists in the whole

of Latin America. Historians have relied on the Spanish text printed in Madrid in 1749 by Andres Gonzales de Barcia, in the work entitled *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*.

A facsimile of the 1525 Toledo edition of the two Alvarado letters has been made from the copy in the New York Public Library, and it precedes the translation of the same. The editing of this volume has been kindly undertaken by Sedley J. Mackie, Esq., who has, moreover, made the translation of the letters.

MARSHALL H. SAVILLE

INTRODUCTION

THE conquest of Guatemala by Pedro de Alvarado ranks in interest and importance with other events in the conquest of America by the Spaniards. Just four hundred years ago he entered the country of the Quichés and began his devastating campaign that, within a few months, resulted in the subjugation and colonization of the northern part of Central America. His two letters to Hernando Cortes, relating his experiences, have never been entirely translated into English.

Apart from certain Mexican settlements in Central America, there is evidence of commercial intercourse between the two countries prior to the conquest, and Cortes had received information regarding the powerful Indian tribes to the south of the Aztecs. After the fall of the City of Mexico in 1521, ambassadors were received from many of these neighboring tribes offering allegiance, and some of the authorities state that Iximche, and possibly Utatlan, voluntarily sent peace offer-

ings. Cortes, however, states that two Spaniards were sent to reconnoitre the country and report on what they found. This was in 1522.

In his fourth letter to the Emperor Charles V, Cortes says:

On returning from the province of Panuco, and while in a town called Tuzapam, the two Spaniards arrived, whom I had sent with some natives of Temixtitan and others of Soconusco (which latter is on the coast of the South Sea, near where Pedrarias Davila is Your Highnesses' Governor, two hundred leagues from this great city of Temixtitan) to obtain information of some towns about which I have heard for a long time, and which are called Uclaclan and Guatemala, and which are more than seventy leagues distant from this province of Soconusco. There came with these Spaniards more than one hundred of the inhabitants of these two towns, sent by their chiefs to declare themselves subjects and vassals of Your Imperial Majesty. I received them in Your Royal name and assured them that if they remained faithful to their pledge, they would be well treated and favored by me and my people in Your Majesty's name; and I gave them some presents of things which

they esteem, not only for themselves, but also for their chief, and sent two other Spaniards back with them to provide everything necessary along the road. Since then I have learned from certain Spaniards in the province of Soconusco that those cities with their provinces and another called Chiapan, near there, have not kept faith, but are molesting the towns of Soconusco because they are our friends. On the other hand, the Christians have written to me that they constantly send messengers to excuse themselves, saying that these things had been done by others, and that they had no part in it. So, to learn the truth of this, I dispatched Pedro de Alvarado with eighty odd horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers, amongst whom were many crossbowmen and musketeers; he took four field pieces and artillery, and a great supply of ammunition and powder.

This expedition was about to start when news was received of the arrival of Francisco de Garay at Panuco, and Alvarado was sent to oppose this incursion. It was not until the end of 1523 that he finally left Mexico. Cortes says in his fourth letter:

I also said that I had prepared certain people

to go with Pedro de Alvarado to those cities of Uclatan and Guatemala, which I have mentioned in preceding chapters, and to other provinces of which I have heard beyond them, and also how this had been interrupted by the arrival of Francisco de Garay. Although I had already incurred great expenses for horses and horsemen, artillery and ammunition, as well as for money advanced to help the people, I believed this to be for the service of God, our Lord, and Your Sacred Majesty, and according to the accounts of those parts which I had received, I expected to discover many new and rich lands and strange inhabitants, so I reverted to my original intention. In addition to what I had already provided for the last expedition, I again fitted out Pedro de Alvarado, and despatched him from this city on the 6th of December, 1523, and he took one hundred and twenty horsemen so that with his relays he had one hundred and seventy horses, and three hundred foot soldiers of which latter one hundred and thirty were crossbowmen and musketeers; he also took four pieces of artillery with plenty of powder and ammunition, and he was accompanied by some chiefs, both of this city and from its neighborhood, who brought some

people with them, though not very many as the journey was so long. I have heard that they arrived in the province of Tecuantepeque on the 12th of January, and that everything was going well. May it please our Lord to guide them and the others, for I readily believe that, acting in His service and in the Royal name of your Caesarian Majesty, great success will not be wanting. I also recommended Pedro de Alvarado always to take special care to send me a complete account of everything that happens to him so that I may report to Your Highness. . . . From the great City of Temixtitan in this New Spain on 15 October, 1524.

The first part of the journey was through country familiar to Alvarado as he had been as far as the South Sea in 1522, and even as far as Soconusco, according to Peter Martyr. From Tehuantepec on January 12, 1524, as well as from Soconusco sometime later, he sent reports to Cortes, but both letters have been lost. Bernal Diaz relates that he was received peaceably in these Provinces.

The two letters here published take up the narrative at this point, and carry it to July 25,

1524, on which date the first Spanish capital of Guatemala was founded at Iximche, the ancient capital of the Cakchiquels.

One of the principal objects of all the expeditions was the collection of treasure. In this respect Guatemala had not measured up to expectations, and, at the end of his second letter, Alvarado laments the small profit that had accrued to the conquerors. This had to be remedied at all costs, so the Cakchiquel chiefs were summoned and ordered to deliver all the gold and silver they possessed, under penalty of being burned alive. Knowing from experience that this was no idle threat, they made every effort to satisfy the rapacity of the Spaniards, but without success. Suffering under these cruelties and exactions the Indians had become desperate, when one of their priests told them: "I am the lightning; I will destroy the Castilians. I will destroy them by fire. When I beat the drum let the chiefs come forth and go to the other bank of the river." Any hope was worth following, and on August 26, 1524, the whole Indian population secretly left the city. Alvarado waited

some days, hoping they would return, but all peaceful overtures having failed, he took the field and a series of desperate encounters took place. The Cakchiquels fought valiantly and the Spaniards were forced to remove their headquarters from Iximche to Xepau, probably in the Tzutuhil country, as that tribe had remained friendly to the Spaniards. Here, fortunately, reinforcements were received from Mexico, and Alvarado returned to Iximche and laid the country waste. Headquarters, however, were retained at Xepau. At this time expeditions were also undertaken against the Pocomanes in Mixco, to the east of Iximche; the Zacatepecs to the south-east; the Pipiles toward the south coast, and the Mames of Huehuetenango, toward the northwest. Month after month the struggle continued with desperate bitterness, the Indians preferring death to submission, but by the end of 1525 the whole of the Guatemala plateau had been subjugated, and a semblance of order established.

It is also probable that about the beginning of 1525 another expedition was sent to Cuz-

catlan (although definite details are lacking), as there is an entry in the municipal records of Guatemala, dated May 6, 1525, that "Diego Holguin had left to reside in San Salvador, of which he was alcalde."

Early in 1526 Alvarado wished to return to Mexico, owing to rumors of the death of Cortes, but a letter was received from Cortes from Trujillo, telling of his Honduras expedition and stating that he intended to return to Mexico by way of Guatemala. Immediately afterwards, however, another letter arrived from Cortes cancelling this arrangement, and asking Alvarado to come to see him.

Cortes in reporting to the King about his famous overland trip from the city of Mexico to Honduras, in 1525-1526, in the Fifth Letter of Relation, states that he had intended to return to Mexico by land, crossing over to Nicaragua, and thence northward "by the South Sea," that is, through Salvador, Guatemala and western Chiapas. The arrival of a ship from Mexico at the port of Trujillo brought him news of such a disquieting nature from Mexico, that he gave up the idea of an

overland journey, and returned on the ship. He gives as the reason for his desire to make the arduous trip, the unsettled state of affairs in Guatemala under the administration of Pedro de Alvarado. We can do no better than to quote the language of Cortes regarding the conditions existing between the Spaniards and the Indians in 1525, one year after the conquest. He writes:

I was in consequence obliged to give up all idea of going to Nicaragua and returning, as I had intended, by the way of the South Sea, in doing which I firmly believe that much service to God first, and afterwards to Your Majesty, might have been done, owing to the many extensive and rich provinces that lie betwixt, and which, though reduced and at peace for the most part, might have been confirmed in their vassalage by my thus going through them, especially those of Otlatan (Utatlan) and Guatemala, where Pedro de Alvarado always resided, and which, having rebelled in consequence of various offences done to them by the Spaniards, have never since become peaceable, but on the contrary have done, and are still doing, much harm to the Spaniards settled in their neighbor-

hood, and to their Indian friends. For Your Majesty must know that the country there is very broken, and the population very dense, and the people so warlike and brave and at the same time so trained in all kinds of warfare, offensive as well as defensive, that they have invented pits and other engines to kill the horses; and although the said Pedro de Alvarado has never ceased making war upon them with upwards of 200 horses and 500 foot, all Spaniards, besides 5,000, and at other times even 10,000 Indians, he has hitherto been unable to reduce them under Your Majesty's rule, but on the contrary, they become stronger every day through the people who join them. I believe, however, that if God permitting, I were to go among them, I could by mild treatment or otherwise, bring them to a knowledge of what they owe to Your Majesty.

Preparations were made by Alvarado for departure, but many of the men who were named to make the journey rebelled, and fled towards Mexico. Alvarado followed, and caught up with them at Iximche, where a fight was narrowly averted. Some were per-

suaded to rejoin, but the others again fled during the night and returned to Mexico.

Alvarado then set out, taking the route by way of Cuzcatlan, instead of the direct way by Esquipulas, as the Indians in the latter district were unfriendly. Travelling through Cuzcatlan and Chaparrastique (San Miguel), he arrived at Choluteca, probably near Tegucigalpa, where he found Luis Marin, Bernal Diaz, and the small company that had left Cortes in Honduras, to intercept Alvarado, as Cortes had decided, and previously left, to return to Mexico by sea. Great was their satisfaction at this meeting, particularly on Alvarado's part, as he was relieved of the arduous journey to Trujillo, and the combined forces started on the return to Guatemala.

But important events had taken place there. Owing to the tyrannical behaviour of Gonzalo de Alvarado, a brother, who had been left in command, a general uprising of the Indians had occurred, and the Spaniards had been forced to retreat to Olintepeque in the north. But their success was short-lived. Sweeping in from Cuzcatlan, Pedro de Alvarado and

his force first encountered an Indian army near Petapa, and, after a struggle of three days, defeated them. In the valley of Panchoy another Indian army was destroyed, and again at Iximche, a third battle took place, in which, it is said, 30,000 Indians were defeated. Here ten days were spent in an effort to bring the Indians back to the Spanish yoke, but without success, and the army pushed on to Olintepeque, to join the others.

At Olintepeque some days were spent in resting. Pedro de Portocarrero and Hernan Carrillo were appointed to joint command in Guatemala, and Pedro de Alvarado left for Mexico, where he arrived towards the end of 1526 or beginning of 1527, and shortly afterwards proceeded to Spain.

THE ABORIGINES

On entering the table land of Guatemala, Alvarado found an Indian civilization second only to the highest developments in the New World. Unfortunately its origin is lost in the dim and distant past, but many centuries were required for its development. As yet, our knowledge of this period is very limited.

The principal tribes inhabiting the Guatemala plateau were the Quichés, Cakchiquels, Tzutuhils, Mames and Pocomanes, all of Maya connections. In the lowlands to the south, and in Cuzcatlan, the Pipiles, of Mexican origin, ruled. At the time of the conquest, these tribes were all independent, but their past is a story of constant warfare for domination and existence.

Their political organization took the form of an absolute monarchy, hereditary, and a governing class composed of the heads of the principal families, who sat in council and acted in an advisory capacity. The military caste was distinguished from the general pop-

ulation, which was engaged in agricultural pursuits. There was also a system of slavery. With slight variations, this was the organization of all the tribes.

Estimates of the population vary greatly, and many of the early accounts are obviously absurd, but all the evidence points to a very thickly peopled country. Not only is the soil very productive and capable of supporting a large population, but agriculture had been highly developed, and Alvarado particularly mentions the extensive corn fields,—in fact at Esquintla he was able to bring the Indians to terms by threatening to destroy their fields. Maize was the principal crop—Guatemala is the home of the grass from which it was developed—but beans, potatoes, etc., were also cultivated. Cocoa was grown and greatly prized as a drink, being reserved for the governing class exclusively. Tobacco was also cultivated. Dogs were bred for food (vide Bernal Diaz) and it is probable that fowl were also used.

They were an intensely superstitious people and were guided by priestly divination in

nearly all their activities. Particularly did this apply to the production of food. Human sacrifice was practiced, usually on captives, and the bodies eaten. Dancing, with drunkenness and debauchery, was an important part of their ceremonials.

The principal cities were situated in naturally strong, defensive positions, necessary on account of the continuous inter-tribal warfare. The buildings were large and substantially built of stone set in mortar. Unfortunately they have been almost completely destroyed, but all the early accounts bear witness to their magnificence.

The art of picture writing was known and used extensively. Baked clay images and vessels were made, and carving practiced on wood and stone, although the elaborately carved stelae of the east coast have never been found in the highlands. Cotton was grown, and the women were expert in spinning and dyeing it, and weaving garments. The calendar was based on a solar year and contained twenty months of eighteen days each. The remaining five days were not included in the count of the months.

The lance, and bow and arrow were the principal offensive weapons. For defense, a shield was carried, and a thick cotton garment worn.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Pedro de Alvarado was born in Badajoz, province of Estremadura, about 1485,—the son of Gomez de Alvarado and Leonor de Contreras. Practically nothing is known of his early life.

In 1510 he left Spain for Santo Domingo, joined Diego Velasquez in 1511 on the expedition to conquer Cuba, and remained there until 1518. In that year he accompanied Juan de Grijalva to Yucatan as one of his captains, returning to Cuba in time to join the expedition of Hernan Cortes in 1519 for the conquest of Mexico, in which he took a foremost part. For the next five years he was the leading captain in the army of Cortes.

In December, 1523, Alvarado left Mexico City with his expedition for the conquest of Guatemala, which occupied him for nearly three years. Toward the end of 1526 he returned to Mexico, and in February, 1527, left for Spain to press his claim for the government of the newly conquered territory. This was con-

firmed by the Emperor on December 18, 1527. About this time he married Francisca de la Cueva, niece of the Duke of Albuquerque, and shortly afterwards returned to Mexico.

On his arrival there he encountered a series of misfortunes. His wife died a few days after their arrival. The civil government of Mexico, which had been recently constituted, was antagonistic to him, and not only prevented his return to Guatemala, but instituted a *residencia* against him, robbed him of his belongings and threw him into gaol. However, the return of Cortes to power re-established him and he finally arrived in Guatemala, April, 1530.

For some time he was occupied in organizing and consolidating his government, but this did not satisfy his ambitious nature for long, and in 1533 he led an expedition to Peru to secure some share of the reported riches of that country. This expedition was ended by an agreement with Almagro by which the latter took possession of his fleet by payment of 100,000 castellanos, and Alvarado returned to Guatemala in 1535.

By Royal Cedula dated October 27th, 1535, the Audiencia of Mexico was ordered to take a *residencia* of Alvarado and send him a prisoner to Spain. Anticipating the arrival of the Oidor Maldonado, he left for Honduras, ostensibly to quell some disturbances there,—embarked for Havana, and returned to Spain to recover his position at court. At this time he married Beatriz de la Cueva, his first wife's sister, which assured him of the continued protection of the Duke of Albuquerque, and on April 16, 1538, he was confirmed in his government of Guatemala and permitted to equip an expedition for discovery in the South Sea.

In September, 1539, he arrived at Guatemala. Toward the end of 1540 he completed the organization of his expedition and started on the voyage of discovery that was to end in his death. Touching at Jalisco in Mexico, he was requested by the Governor of Guadalajara to assist in quelling a serious rebellion of the Indians. In the assault of a hill occupied by the rebels, a horse rolled down on him, injuring him fatally, and he died a few days later, on

July 4, 1541. His body was later carried to Guatemala (Antigua) and buried in the Cathedral there.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo has left us the only description of Alvarado's person. In his "True History of the Conquest of New Spain," he says:

> The ambassadors with whom they were travelling gave an account of their doings to Montezuma, and he asked them what sort of faces and general appearance had these two Teules who were coming to Mexico, and whether they were Captains, and it seems that they replied that Pedro de Alvarado was of very perfect grace both in face and person, that he looked like the sun, and that he was a Captain, and in addition to this they brought with them a picture of him with his face very naturally portrayed, and from that time forth they gave him the name of "Tonatio," which means the Sun, or the child of the Sun, and so they called him ever after. (Chap. 80.)
>
> These three Captains I have mentioned were highly praised before His Majesty, when Cortes went to Court, and remarked to His Majesty, our Lord, that he had in his army when he con-

quered Mexico, three Captains who might be counted amongst the most famous in the world. The first was Don Pedro de Alvarado, who, besides being very valiant, was elegant both in person and appearance, and distinguished for his capacity in training soldiers. (Chap. 205.)

I wish now to record the age and appearance of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was Comendador of Santiago and Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala, Honduras and Chiapa. He was about thirty-four years old when he came here, of good size, and well proportioned, with a very cheerful countenance and a winning smile, and because he was so handsome the Mexican Indians gave him the name of "Tonatio," which means the Sun. He was very active and a good horseman, and above all was very frank-hearted and a good talker, and he was very neat in his attire but with rich and costly clothes. He wore a small gold chain around his neck with a jewel, and a ring with a good diamond. (Chap. 206.)

Pedro de Alvarado occupies a very important place in the history of the Spanish conquest of America. Cortes depended upon

him to a marked extent during the Mexican campaign,—in fact it might be said Alvarado was his principal Captain. It would seem, however, that he was not most successful in supreme command. His massacre of the Aztecs in Mexico City, while in command in the absence of Cortes, was probably one of the most wilfully brutal events enacted during that period, and its effect was terribly disastrous to the Spaniards. In his Guatemala expedition similar events took place, and if ever he was received peaceably by a tribe, and that was not infrequently, it was not many days before the Indians were at war with him, and the history of that country for the first few years is one of continual rebellion and massacre.

He was handsome, and brave to a fault, but avaricious and cruel, and faithless to his friends. It might almost be said he had a lust for murder. His guiding principle was to strike terror into the hearts of the Indians, but his methods were so inhuman that they usually had the opposite effect. In any event, he had not a single friendly and allied tribe in the

whole of Central America, and the Cakchiquels, who helped him most at the beginning, were soon his greatest and most troublesome enemy.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The two letters of Pedro de Alvarado are the only eye-witness accounts of the expedition to Guatemala that are known to exist. They were first published as an appendix to the first edition of the Fourth Letter of Cortes which was printed in Toledo, October 20, 1525. The Cortes letter relates to affairs in Mexico from May 15, 1522, to October 15, 1522, and the reports, *in extenso*, of Pedro de Alvarado and Diego Godoy to Cortes, occupy the last sixteen pages. The title in English reads: "The fourth relation which Fernando Cortes, Governor and Captain-General for His Majesty in New Spain of the Oceanic Sea, sent to the very high and mighty Lord, Carlos, Emperor and King of Spain our Lord: in which are other letters and relations which Captains Pedro de Alvarado and Diego Godoy sent to the said Captain Fernando Cortes." The colophon reads: "The present Epistolary Relation was printed in the Imperial City of Toledo by Gaspar de Avila. Finished

the twentieth day of the month of October, year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and twenty five years." A second edition of this Fourth Letter of Cortes was printed in Valencia, 1526, the colophon bearing the date, July 16th. It also contains the Alvarado letters. The fact that these two letters were printed at that time seems to have been unknown to most historians, although there are obscure footnotes stating the fact in the works of Bancroft and Winsor.

Peter Martyr merely mentions their existence, but Oviedo gives an almost complete transcript in his "Historia de las Indias," which however, remained in manuscript until 1851. Ramusio translated them into Italian for the third volume of his Voyages which was first published in 1556. Barcia included them in "Historiadores Primitivos de Indias," Madrid, 1749, and reprint by Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1855. Ternaux Compans translated them into French for his "Collection of Voyages," Paris, 1838. Juan Gavarrete published them in the "Bulletin of the Sociedad

Economica," Guatemala, Vol. 3. In 1913, Miss A. W. Kurtz published them in Guatemala, reprinted from the Barcia edition. Miss L. E. Elliott translated the second letter into English for the Pan American Magazine, May, 1914. A. P. Maudsley gives part of the first letter in his "Glimpse at Guatemala," London, 1899.

According to Pascual de Gayangos in his introduction to "Cartas de Cortes," Paris, 1866, the original manuscript is in the Imperial Library at Vienna, Codex No. CXX.

In 1844, Juan Gavarrete of Guatemala, discovered a Cakchiquel manuscript which he published in the "Bulletin of the Sociedad Economica" of Guatemala in 1873. In 1885 Mr. D. G. Brinton published the original text with an English translation under the name "Annals of the Cakchiquels." Part of it deals with the conquest of Guatemala by the Spaniards and, from internal evidence, it may well be the account of an Indian eye-witness of the events, although nothing is known of the history of the manuscript prior to its discovery.

We have evidence of the existence of two

other original accounts, the whereabouts of which are not known now.

(a) Gonzalo de Alvarado. Bernal Diaz del Castillo says in chapter 164 of his "True History of the Conquest of New Spain," "a history which has been completed of it (conquest of Guatemala) by Gonzalo de Alvarado." Domingo Juarros in his "History of Guatemala," published 1808, quotes from it and states it was then "in the possession of Don Nicolas de Vides y Alvarado, one of his descendents."

(b) Diego Reinoso. In his "Historia de America Central," Jose Milla says "An Indian named Diego Reinoso learned to read and write his language in Latin characters and wrote an account of the conquest. It is cited by Jimenez but unfortunately is now lost."

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who wrote the "True History of the Conquest of New Spain" was not with Pedro de Alvarado at the time of the conquest, but he knew all the people who took part in it, and was in Guatemala two years afterward. His account is therefore of the first importance.

FACSIMILE
OF
THE TWO ACCOUNTS GIVEN BY PEDRO DE ALVARADO TO HERNANDO CORTES

La quarta relacion q̃ Fernãdo cortes gouer
nador y capitan general por su magestad en la
nueua España del mar oceano embio al muy
alto y muy potentissimo inuictissimo señor
don Carlos emperador senper angusto y
rey de España nuestro señor: en la qual estan
otras cartas y relaciones que los capitanes
Pedro de aluarado y Diego godoy embia
ron al dicho capitan Fernando cortes.

¶ Relacion hecha por Pedro de alvarado a Hernando cortes.

SEñor/ de ſon conuſco eſcreui a vueſtra merced todo lo q̃ haſta allí me auía ſucedido ⁊ a vn algo delo q̃ſe eſperaua auer adelãte: y deſpues de auer imviado mis mẽſajeros a eſta tierra bazied̃o les ſaber como yo venia a ella a cõquiſtar ⁊ pacificar las prouincias q̃ ſo el dominio de ſu maieſtad no ſe quiſieſſen meter / ⁊ a ellos como a ſus vaſſallos pues por tales ſe auiã offrecido a vra merced les pedia fauor ⁊ ayuda y entrada por ſu tierra / q̃ bazied̃o lo aſſi q̃ daria como buenos y leales vaſſallos de ſu maieſtad: y q̃ de mí y delos eſpañoles de mi cõpañia ſeria muy fauoreſcidos ⁊ mãtenidos en toda juſticia: y dõde no q̃ proteſtaua de bazer les la guerra como a traydores reuelados ⁊ alçados cõtra el ſeruicio dl emperador nro ſeñor y q̃ por tales los daria: y demas deſto daua por eſclauos todos los q̃ a vida ſe tomaſſen en la guerra. Y deſpues de hecho todo eſto y deſpachados los mẽſajeros de ſus naturales propios yo bine alarde de toda mi gente de pie y de caballo ⁊ otro dia ſabado de mañana me parti en demãda de ſu tierra ⁊ andude tres dias por vn mõte deſpoblado: y eſtãdo aſſentado real la gẽte de velas q̃ yo tenia puеſtas: tomarõ tres eſpias de vn pueblo de ſu tierra llamado çapotulã a los quales preguntẽ q̃ a q̃ venian: y me dixeron q̃ a coger miel / a vn q̃ notorio fue q̃ erã eſpias ſegũ adelãte pareſcio: no obſtãte todo eſto yo no los quiſe apremiar / antes los balague y les di otro mãdamiento y requerimiẽto como el de arriba y los embie a los ſeñores del dicho pueblo ⁊ nunca a ello ni a nada me quiſieron reſpõder: y deſpues de llegado a eſte pueblo halle todos los caminos abiertos ⁊ muy anchos aſſi el real como los q̃ atraueſſauã: ⁊ los caminos q̃ yuã a las calles principales tapados: ⁊ luego juzgue ſu mal proposito y q̃ aq̃llo eſtaua hecho para pelear ⁊ alli ſalierõ algunos dellos a mi enbiados y me dexiã donde eſtaua q̃ me entraſſe en el pueblo a apoſentar para mas a ſu plazer darnos la guerra como la teniã ordenada: ⁊ aq̃l dia aſſente real junto alli al pueblo haſta calar la tierra a ver el pẽſamiento q̃ teniã: ⁊ luego aq̃lla tarde no pudierõ encubrir ſu mal proposito y me mataró ⁊ birierõ gente dellos yndios de mi cõpañia: ⁊ como me vino el mãdado yo truxe gẽte de caballo a correr el cãpo ⁊ vieron en mucha gẽte de guerra la qual peleo cõellos: y aq̃lla tarde birierõ ciertos caballos. E otro dia fuy a ver el camino por donde auia de yr ⁊ vi como digo tãbien gente de guerra: y la tierra

era tan montoſa de cacaguatales y arboleda que era mas fuerte para ellos q̃ no para noſ
tros: y yo me retrare al real y otro dia figuiẽte me parti con toda la gente a entrar enel pue=
blo y enel camino eſtruua vn rio de mal paſſo y temiã lo los yndios tomado y alli peleando
conellos ſelo ganamos: y ſobre vna varranca del rio en vn llano eſpere la reſaga porq̃ era
peligroſo el paſſo y traya mucho peligro a vn q̃ yo traya todo el mejor recado que podia. y
eſtãdo como digo enla varrãca vinierõ por muchas partes por los mõtes y me tornaron a
acometer y alli los reſiſtimos haſta tanto q̃ paſſo todo el fardaje: y deſpues de entrados en
las caſas dimos enla gente y figuioſe el alcãce haſta paſſar el mercado y media legua ade=
lante: y deſpues boluimos a aſſentar real enel mercado y aqui eſtuue dos dias corriẽdo la
tierra: y acabo dellos me parti pa otro pueblo llamado Queçaltenago: y aq̃ſte dia paſſe dos
rios muy malos de peña taſſada y alli bexi mos paſſo con mucho trabajo y comence a ſubir
vn puerto q̃ tiene ſeys leguas de largo y enla mitad del camino aſſente real aq̃lla noche: y
el puerto era tan agro q̃ a penas podiamos ſubir los caualios. E otro dia demañana ſegui
mi camino y encima de vn rebẽton halle vna muger ſacrificada y vn perro: y ſegun ſupe de
la lengua era deſafio. E yendo nos adelãte halle en vn paſſo muy eſtrecho vna albarrada
de palizada fuerte y enella no auia gẽte ninguna: y acabado de ſubir el puerto llegaua to=
dos los valleſteros y peones delante de mi porq̃ los caualios no ſe podiã mandar por ſer
fragoſo el camino / ſalierõ obra de tres o quatro mil bõbres de guerra ſobre vna barranca y
dieron enla gẽte delos amigos y retraxerõ la abaxo: y luego lo ganamos: y eſtando arriba
recogiendo la gẽte para rehazer me vi mas de treynta mil bõbres q̃ venian a noſotros: y pin
go a dios q̃ alli hallamos vnos llanos y vn q̃ los caualios yuan cãſados y fatigados del
puerto los eſperamos haſta tanto q̃ llegarõ a echarnos flechas y rõpimos enellos: y como
nunca auiã viſto caualios cobrarõ mucho temor y bexi mos vn alcãce muy bueno y los de=
ramamos y murierõ muchos dellos: y alli eſpere toda la gẽte y nos regimos y fuy me apo
ſentar vna legua de alli a vnas fuentes de agua porq̃ alli no la teniamos y la ſed nos aque
xaua mucho / q̃ ſegun yuamos cãſados donde quiera tomaramos por buẽ aſſiento: y como
berã llanos yo tome la delãtera con treynta de caualio: y muchos de noſotros lleuauamos
caualios de refreſco: y toda la gẽte demas venia hecha vn cuerpo: y luego bate a tomar el
agua. / Eſtãdo apeados beuiẽdo vimos venir mucha gẽte de guerra a noſotros y deramos
la llegar q̃ venian por vnos llanos muy grãdes y rõpimos enellos: y aqui bexi mos otro al
cance muy grãde donde hallamos gente q̃ eſperaua vno dellos a dos de caualio / y ſegui=
mos el alcance biẽ vna legua y llegauã ſe nos ya a vna ſierra y alli bolueró roſtro y yo me pu
ſe en buyda cõ ciertos de caualio por ſacarlos al cãpo y ſalieron con noſotros haſta llegar a
las colas delos caualios: y deſpues q̃ me rehize con los de caualio do buelta ſobrellos / y
aqui ſe bizo vn alcance y caſtigo muy grãde / enella murio vno delos quatro ſeñores deſta
ciudad de Tlatan q̃ venia por capitan general de toda la tierra: y yo me retrare alas fuen
tes y alli aſſente real aq̃lla noche harto fatigados y eſpañoles heridos y caualios. E otro
dia demañana me parti para el pueblo de Queçaltenago q̃ eſtaua vna legua: y conel caſti=
go de antes le halle deſpoblado y no perſona ninguna enel: y alli me apoſente y eſtuue re=
ſoumando me y corriẽdo la tierra q̃ es tan grã población como Tlaxcalteque y enlas labran
ças mi mas ni menos y fruſtiſima en demaſia: y el cabo de ſeys dias q̃ auia q̃ eſtaua alli vn ſuc
ues a medio dia aſſomo mucha multitud de gente en muchos cabos q̃ ſegun ſupe dellos
miſmos eran de dẽtro deſta ciudad doze mil y delos pueblos comarcanos y delos de mas
dizen q̃ no ſe pudo cõtar: y deſque los vi puſe la gente en orden y yo ſali a darles la batalla
enla mitad de vn llano q̃ tenia tres leguas de largo cõ nouenta de caualio: y dexe gẽte enel
real q̃ le guardaſſen q̃ podria ſer vn tiro de valleſta del real no mas: y alli comẽçamos a rõ=
per por dos y los desbaratamos por muchas partes y les ſegui el alcãce dos leguas y me
dia haſta tanto q̃ toda la gẽte auia rõpido q̃ no lleuaua ya nada por delãte: y deſpues bol=
uimos ſobrellos: y nros amigos y los peones bazian vna deſtruyçiõ la mayor del mundo
en vn arroyo: y cercaron vna ſierra raſa donde ſe acogierõ y ſubierõ les arriba y tomarõ to

waron todos los que alli se auian subido. ¶ aqueste dia se mato ꝛ prendio mucha gente mu
chos delos quales eran capitanes y señores y personas señaladas. ¶ desque los señores
desta ciudad supieron q̃ su gente era desbaratada acordaron ellos y toda la tierra ꝛ cõuoca
ron muchas otras prouincias para cllo:ꝛ a sus enemigos dieron parmas ꝛ los atraxerõ pa
ra q̃ todos se juntassen ꝛ nos matassen:ꝛ concertarõ de embiarnos a dezir q̃ querian ser bue
nos y q̃ de nueuo dauan la obidiencia al emperador nro señor:y q̃ me viniesse dentro a esta
ciudad de Vitatã como despues me traxeron ꝛ pensaron q̃ me aposentariã dentro y q̃ des
pues de aposentados vna noche dariã fuego ala ciudad y q̃ alli nos quemariã a todos sin
poder le lo resistir/como de hecho llegarã a efeto su mal proposito fino q̃ dios nro señor no
consiẽte q̃ estos infieles ayan victoria cõtra nosotros/porq̃ la ciudad es muy fuerte en de
masia ꝛ no tiene sino dos entradas/la vna de treynta y tãtos escalones de piedra muy al
ta:ꝛ por la otra parte vna calçada hecha a mano ꝛ mucha parte della ya cortada para aq̃lla
noche acabarla de cortar porque ningũ caualllo pudiera salir ala tierra:ꝛ como la ciudad es
muy fũta ꝛ las calles muy angostas en ninguna manera nos pudieramos sufrir sin ahogar
nos/o por huyr del fuego despeñar nos. ¶ como subimos q̃ yo me vi dentro ꝛ la fortaleza
tan grãde y q̃ dentro della no nos podiamos aprouechar delos caualllos por ser las calles
tan angostas y encaladas/determine luego de salir me della alo llano/avn q̃ para ello los
señores desta ciudad me lo cõtradezian y me dezian q̃ me assentasse a comer ꝛ q̃ luego me yua
por tener lugar de llegar a efecto su proposito:ꝛ como conosci el peligro en q̃ estauamos em
bie luego gẽte delãte a tomar la calçada ꝛ puẽte pa tomar la tierra llana: y estaua ya la calç
çada en tales terminos q̃ apenas podia subir vn caualllo:ꝛ al derredor dela ciudad auia mu
cha gente de guerra ꝛ como me vierõ passado alo llano se arredrarõ no tanto q̃ yo no recebi
mucho daño dellos:ꝛ yo lo dissimulaua todo por prender alos señores q̃ ya andauã ausen
tados ꝛ por mañas q̃ tuue cõellos ꝛ con dadiuas q̃ les di para mas assegurar me yo los prẽ
di ꝛ presos los tenia en mi posada ꝛ no por esso los su yos dexauã de me dar guerra por los
alderredores ꝛ me herian ꝛ matauan muchos delos yndios q̃ yuan por yerua:ꝛ vn espanol
cogiendo yerua a vn tiro de vallesta del real de encima de vna barrãca le echarõ vn agalgã
ꝛ lo matarõ:y es la tierra tan fuerte de quebradas/q̃ ay quebrada q̃ entra dozientos esta
dos de hondo ꝛ por estas quebradas no podimos hazer les la guerra ni castigarlos como
ellos merecian:ꝛ viẽdo q̃ con correr les la tierra ꝛ quemar se la yo los podria traer al serui
cio de su magestad determine de quemar alos señores/ los q̃les dixerõ al tiẽpo q̃ los queria
q̃mar como pareceres por sus cõfessiones q̃ ellos crã los q̃ me auiã mãdado dar la guerra ꝛ
los q̃ la bazian ꝛ dela manera q̃ auiã de tener para me quemar en la ciudad ꝛ con esse pensa
miento me auia traydo a ella:ꝛ q̃ ellos auiã mãdado a sus vassallos q̃ no viniessen a dar la
obidiẽcia al emperador nro señor ni siruiessen ni bizziessen otra buena obra. ¶ como conosci
dellos tener tan mala volũtad al seruicio de su magestad ꝛ para el biẽ y sossiego desta tierra
yo los quemẽ:ꝛ mãde quemar la ciudad ꝛ poner por los cimiẽtos porq̃ es tã peligrosa ꝛ tã
fuerte q̃ mas parece casa de ladrones q̃ no de pobladores:ꝛ para buscarlos embie ala ciu
dad de Guatemala q̃ esta diez leguas desta a dezirles ꝛ requerir les de parte de su magestad
q̃ me embiassen gẽte de guerra/assi para saber dellos la voluntad q̃ teniã/como para ate
morizar la tierra:y ella fue buena ꝛ dixo q̃ le plazia:ꝛ para esto me embio quatro mil hõbres
con los quales ꝛ con los demas q̃ yo tenia bize vna entrada ꝛ los corri y eche de toda su tie
rra. ¶ viendo el daño q̃ se les bazia me embiarõ sus mẽsajeros baziendo me saber como ya
querian ser buenos ꝛ q̃ auiã errado q̃ auia fido por mãdado de sus señores ꝛ q̃ ficdo ellos bi
uos no osauã bazer otra cosa:ꝛ q̃ pues ya ellos crã muertos q̃ me rogauan q̃ los perdonasse
ꝛ yo les assegure las vidas ꝛ les mande q̃ se viniessen a sus casas ꝛ poblassen la tierra como
antes/los quales lo an fecho assi ꝛ los tẽgo al presente en el estado q̃ antes soliã estar en ser
uicio de su magestad:ꝛ para mas assegurar la tierra solte dos hijos delos señores alos qua
les puse en la possession de sus padres/ꝛ creo barã bien todo lo q̃ cõuenga al seruicio de su
magestad ꝛ al bien desta tierra. ¶ quãto toca a esto öla guerra no ay mas q̃ dezir al presente

sino que todos los que enla guerra se tomaron se herraron y se bizieron esclauos/ dellos que a los se dio el quinto de su majestad al thesorero Baltasar de mendoça: el qual quinto se vendio en almoneda para que mas segura este la renta de su majestad.

¶ Dela tierra bago saber a vuestra merced que es templada y sana y muy poblada de pueblos muy rezios: y esta ciudad es bien obrada y fuerte a marauilla y tiene muy grãdes tierras de panes y mucha gente subiecta a ella/ la qual cõ todos los pueblos a ella subiectos y comarcanos vino so el yugo y en seruicio dla corona real de su majestad. Enesta tierra ay vna sierra de Alumbre y otra de Axiue y otra de Açufre el mejor que hasta oy se ha visto/ que cozi vn pedaço que me trageron sin afinar ni sin otra cosa bize media arroba de poluora muy buena: y por embiar a Argueta y no querer esperar no embio a vuestra merced cincuenta cargas dello/ pero su tiempo se tiene para cada y quando fuere mensajero.

¶ Yo me parto para la ciudad de Guatemala lunes onze de abril donde pienso detener me poco a causa que vn pueblo que esta assentado enel agua que se dize Atiçlã esta de guerra y me ha muerto quatro mensajeros: y pienso conel ayuda de nuestro señor prestolo atraere mos al seruicio de su majestad/ porque segun estoy informado tengo mucho que bajer adelante/ y a esta causa me dare priessa por inuernar cincuenta o cien leguas adelante de Guatemala donde me dizen y tengo nueua delos naturales desta tierra de marauillosos y grãdes hedificios y grandeza de ciudades que adelante ay. Tambien me an dicho que cinco jornadas adelante de vna ciudad muy grande que esta veynte jornadas de aqui se acaba esta tierra y afirman se enellos: si assi es certissimo tengo que es el estrecho/ plega a nuestro señor: me de victoria contra estos ynfieles para que yo los trayga a su seruicio o al de su majestad. No quisiera bazer en pedaços esta relacion sino desdel cabo de todo porq̃ mas oviera que dezir. La gente de españoles de mi compañia de pie y de cauallo lo an fecho tan biẽ enla guerra que se ha offrecido que son dignos de muchas mercedes. Al presente no tengo mas que dezir que de substancia sea/ sino que estamos metidos enla mas rezia tierra de gente que se ha visto: y para que nuestro señor nos de victoria suplico a vuestra merced mãde bazer vna procession enessa ciudad de todos los clerigos y frayles para que nra señora nos ayude pues estamos tan apartados de socorro si de alla no nos viene.

¶ Tambien tenga vuestra merced cuydado de bazer saber a su majestad como le seruimos con nuestras personas y haziendas y a nuestra costa/ lo vno para descargo dela conciencia de vuestra merced/ y lo otro para q̃ su majestad nos baga mercedes. Nuestro señor guarde el muy magnifico estado de vuestra merced por largo tiẽpo como desseo. Desta ciudad de Tiçlatan a onze de abril.

¶ Y segun lleuo el viaje largo pienso me faltara el herraje/ si para este verano que viene vuestra merced me pudiere proueer de herraje sera gran bien y su majestad sera muy seruido enello/ que agora vale entre nosotros ciento y nouenta pesos la dozena y assi la mercamos y pagamos a oro. Beso las manos de vuestra merced. Pedro de aluarado.

Otra relacion hecha por Pedro de aluarado a Hernando cortes.

Señor/ delas cosas que hasta Tiçlatan me auian sucedido assi enla guerra como enlo de mas bize larga relacion a vuestra merced: y agora le quiero bazer relacion de todas las tierras que he andado y conquistado/ y de todo lo de mas que me ha sucedido/ y es.

¶ Que yo señor parti dla ciudad de Tiçlatã y vine en dos dias a esta ciudad de Guatemala dõde fuy muy biẽ rescebidos delos señores della q̃ no pudiera ser mas en casa de nros padres: y fuymos tã pueydos de todo lo necessario q̃ en ninguna cosa ouo falta: y dende a ocho dias q̃ estaua eneste ciudad supe dlos señores dlla como a siete leguas de aqui dlla ay

ciudad sobre vna laguna muy grande y que aquella bazia guerra a esta ⁊ a Eclaten ⁊ a todas las demas a ella comarcanas por la fuerça del agua y canoas que tenian y que de alli salian a fazer salto de noche en la tierra destos: ⁊ como los desta ciudad viessen el daño que de alli rescebian me dixeron como ellos eran buenos y que estauan en el seruicio de su magestad ⁊ que no querian bazer le guerra ni dar la fin mi licencia y rogandome que lo remediasse: ⁊ yo les respondi que yo los embiaria a llamar de parte del emperador nr̃o señor: y q̃ si viniessen q̃ yo les mãdaria q̃ no le diessen guerra ni le bizieſſen mal en su tierra como bazia entonces lo auian becho/ donde no que yo yria juntamente cõellos a fazer les la guerra ⁊ castigar los. Por manera que luego les embie dos mensajeros naturales desta ciudad a los quales mataron sin temor ninguno. E como yo lo supe viendo su mal proposito me parti desta ciudad contra ellos con ciesenta de cauallo ⁊ y ciento ⁊ cincuenta peones ⁊ con los señores ⁊ naturales desta tierra ⁊ anduue tanto que aquel dia llegue a su tierra ⁊ no me salio a resceb̃ir gẽte ninguna de paz ni de otra manera: ⁊ como esto vi me meti con treynta de cauallo por la tierra ala costa dela laguna/ ya que llegamos cerca de vn peñol poblado que estaua en el agua vimos vn esquadron de gente muy cerca de nosotros: ⁊ yo les acceti cõ aquellos de cauallo q̃ lleuaua ⁊ siguiendo el alcance dellos se metierõ por vna caiçada angosta que entraua al dicho peñol por donde no podian andar de cauallo: ⁊ alli me apee cõ mis compañeros ⁊ apie juntamente ⁊ alas bueltas dellos yndios nos entramos en el peñol de manera que no tuuieron lugar de romper puentes/ que a quitar las no pudieremos entrar. En este medio tiempo llego mucha gente dela mia que venia atras y ganamos el dicho peñol que estaua muy poblado ⁊ toda la gẽte del se nos echo a nado a otra y lla ⁊ se escapo mucha gente della por causa de no llegar tan presto trezientas canoas de amigos q̃ trayan por el agua: ⁊ yo me sali aquella tarde fuera del peñol con toda mi gente ⁊ alicute en cal en vn llano de mahizales donde dormi aquella noche: ⁊ otro dia demañana nos encaminamos a nuestro señor ⁊ fuymos por la poblacion adelante que estaua muy fuerte a causa de muchas peñas ⁊ ceburucos que tenia ⁊ hallamos la despoblada/ que como perdieron la fuerça que en el agua tenian no osaron esperar en la tierra/ a vn que toda via espero alguna poca de gẽte alla al cabo del pueblo ⁊ por la mucha agrura dela tierra como digo no le matamos mas gente: ⁊ alli assente real a medio dia y les comence a correr la tierra y tomamos ciertos yndios naturales della a tres delos quales yo embie por mensajeros a los señores della amonestando les que viniessen a dar la obidiencia a sus magestades ⁊ a someterse so su corona ymperial ⁊ ami en su nombre: y donde no que toda via seguiria la guerra ⁊ los correria ⁊ buscaria por los montes. Los quales me respondieron que hasta entonces q̃ nunca su tierra auia sido rompida / ni gentes por fuerça de armas les auian entrado en ella: y que pues yo auia entrado que ellos holgauan de seruir a su magestad assi como yo selo mãdaua/ y luego vinieron y se pusieron en mi poder: ⁊ yo les bize saber la grandeza ⁊ poderio del emperador nuestro señor: y que mirassen que por lo passado yo en su real nombre lo perdonaua: y que de alli adelante fuessen buenos y que no bizieſſen guerra a nadie delos comarcanos pues que eran todos ya vassallados de su magestad y los embie ⁊ dexe seguros y pacificos y me bolui a esta ciudad: y dẽde a tres dias q̃ llegue a ella vinierõ todos los señores ⁊ principales y capitanes dela dicha laguna ami con presente y me dixerõ que ya ellos eran nuestros amigos y se hallauan dichosos de ser vassallos de su magestad por quitarse de trabajos y guerras ⁊ diferencias q̃ entrellos auiã: ⁊ yo les bize muy buen recebimiento y les di de mis joyas y los torne a embiar a su tierra con mucho amor/ ⁊ son los mas pacificos que en esta tierra ay.

¶ Estando en esta ciudad vinieron muchos señores de otras prouincias dela costa del sur a dar la obidiencia a sus magestades ⁊ diziẽdo q̃ ellos querian ser sus vassallos ⁊ no querian guerra con nadie: y que para esto yo los recibiesse por tales y los fauoreſciesse ⁊ mantuuiesse en justicia. E yo los resceb̃i muy bien como era razon / y les dixe que de mi en nombre de su magestad serian muy fauoreſcidos ⁊ ayudados / y me bizieron saber de otra pro-

uincia que se dize Yzcuynte peque que estaua algo mas la tierra adentro como no les dexa
ua venir a dar la obidiencia a su majestad/ y a vn no solamente esto pero que otras prouin
cias que estã de aquella parte della estauan con buen proposito y querian venir de paz y
que aquesta no les dexaua passar diziendo les que adonde yuan y que eã locos/ sino que
me dexassen ami y alla y que todos me darian guerra. E como fuy certificado ser assi/ assi
por las dichas prouincias como por los señores desta ciudad de Guatemala me parti con
toda mi gente de pie y de caualllo y dormi tres dias en vn despoblado: y otro dia demaña
na ya que entraua en los terminos del dicho pueblo que es toda arboledas muy espessas
halle todos los caminos cerrados y muy angostos que no eran sino sendas porque con na
die tenia contratacion ni camino abierto: y echo los ballesteros delante porque los de ca
uallo alli no podian pelear por las muchas cienagas y espessura de monte: y llouia tanto
que con la mucha agua las velas y espias suyas se retrayeron al pueblo/ y como no pensa
ron que aquel dia llegara a ellos descuydaron se algo y no supieron de mi yda hasta q̃ esta
ua conellos en el pueblo: y como entre toda la gente de guerra estaua en los cacs por amor
de la agua metidos: y quando se quisieron juntar no tuuieron lugar/ a vn que toda via esp
eraron algunos dellos y me bieron españoles y muchos de los yndios amigos que lleua
ua: y con la mucha arboleda y agua que llouia se metieron por los montes que no tuue lu
gar de les hazer daño ninguno mas de quemarles el pueblo: y luego les bize mensajeros a
los señores diziendo les que viniessen a dar la obidiencia a sus majestades y ami en su nõ
bre sino que les haria mucho daño en la tierra y les talaria sus mahyzales/ los quales vi
nieron y se dieron por vassallos de su majestad y yo los rescebi y mande q̃ fuessen de ay ade
lante buenos y estuue ocho dias en este pueblo: y aquí vinieron otros muchos pueblos y
prouincias de paz los quales se offrecieron por vassallos del emperador nuestro señor.
¶ Y desseando calar la tierra y saber los secretos della para que su majestad fuesse mas ser
uido y tuuiesse y señoreasse mas tierras determine de partir de alli y fuy a vn pueblo que se
dize Atiepar don fuy rescebido de los señores y naturales del/ y este es otra lengua y gente
por si: a puesta del sol sin proposito ninguno remanescio despoblado y alçado y no se ha
llo hombre en todo el. Y porque el rision del inuierno no me tomasse y me impidiesse mi ca
mino dexe los assi y passe me de largo lleuando todo recado en mi gente y fardaje/ porque
mi proposito era de calar cien leguas adelante y de camino poner me al o que me viniesse
hasta calar a ellas y despues dar la buelta sobre ellos y venir pacificando los. E otro dia si
guiente me parti y fuy a otro pueblo que se dize Lacuylula y aquí hizieron lo mismo que
los de Atiepar que me rescibieron de paz y se alçaron dende a vna hora. Y de aqui me par
ti y fuy a otro pueblo que se dize Tariseo que es muy rezio y de mucha gente y fuy rescebi
do como de los otros de atras: y dormi en el aquella noche: y otro dia me parti para otro
pueblo que se dize Hacendelan muy grande: y temiendo me de aquella gente que no la en
tendia dexe diez de caualllo en la reçaga y otros diez en el medio del fardaje y segui mi cami
no y podria yr dos o tres leguas del dicho pueblo de Tariseo quando supe que auia salid
o gente de guerra y que auian dado en la reçaga en que me mataron muchos yndios de
los amigos y me tomaron mucha parte del fardaje y todo el hilado de las ballestas y el be
nage que para la guerra lleuaua que no se les pudo resistir. E luego embie a Jorge de alba
rado mi hermano con quarenta o cincuenta de caualllo a buscar aquello que nos auian to
mado y hallo mucha gente armada en el campo y el peleo con ellos y los del barato y nin
guna cosa de lo perdido se pudo cobrar porque la ropa ya lo auian hecho pedaços y cada
vno traya en la guerra su pãpanilla della. Y llegado a este pueblo de Hacendelan Jorge de
alvarado se boluio porque todos los yndios se auian alçado a la sierra: y desde aqui torne
a embiar a don Pedro con gente de pie que los fuesse a buscar a las sierras por ver si los pu
dieramos atraer al seruicio de su majestad y nunca pudo hazer nada por la grande espe
sura de los montes/ y assi se boluio: y yo les embie mensajeros yndios de sus mismos
naturales con requerimientos y mandamientos y aperciuiendo los que no venian los

bana esclauos: ꝛ con todo esto no quisieron venir ni los mensajeros ni ellos. E al cabo de ocho dias que auia que estaua en este pueblo de Macindelan vino vn pueblo que se dize Daçaco de paz que estaua enel camino por donde auiamos de yr ꝛ yo lo rescebi y le di de lo que tenia / y les rogue que fuessen buenos. E otro dia demañana me parti para este pueblo y halle ala entrada del los caminos cerrados ꝛ muchas flechas bincadas: ꝛ ya que entraua por el pueblo vi que ciertos yndios estauan bayendo quartos vn perro a manera de sacrificio: y dentro enel dicho pueblo dieron vna grita ꝛ vimos mucha multitud de gente de guerra: y entramos por ellos rompiendo en ellos hasta que los echamos del pueblo ꝛ seguimos el alcance todo lo que se pudo seguir: y de alli me parti a otro pueblo que se dize Mopicalco ꝛ fuy rescebido no mas ni menos que de los otros: ꝛ quando llegue al pueblo no halle persona biua: y de aqui me parti para otro pueblo llamado Acatepeque a donde no halle a nadie antes estaua todo despoblado. E siguiendo mi proposito que era de casar las dichas cien leguas me parti a otro pueblo que se dize Acarual donde bate la mar del sur enel / ꝛ ya que llegaua a media legua del dicho pueblo vi los campos llenos de gẽte de guerra del con sus plumajes ꝛ diuisas ꝛ con sus armas offensiuas y defensiuas en mitad de vn llano que me estauan esperando / y llegue dellos hasta vn tiro de ballesta ꝛ alli me estuue quedo hasta que acabo de llegar mi gente / y desque la tuue junta me fuy obra de medio tiro de ballesta hasta la gente de guerra y enellos no ouo ninguñ mouimiento ni alteracion alo que yo conosci: ꝛ parescio me que estauã algo cerca de vn monte donde se me podriã acoger / y mande que se retrarcesse toda mi gente que eramos ciento de cauallo ꝛ ciẽto ꝛ cincuenta peones ꝛ obra de cinco o seys mil yndios amigos nuestros / ꝛ assi nos fuymos retrarendo / ꝛ yo me quede enla reyaga baziendo retraer la gente: ꝛ fue tan grande el plazer que ouieron desque me vieron retraer que me vinieron siguiendo hasta llegar alas colas delos caualios y las flechas que echauan passauan enlos delanteros: y todo aquello era en vn llano que para ellos ni para nosotros no auia donde estropeçar. Ya quando me vi retraydo vn quarto de legua adonde a cada vno le auiã de valer las manos ꝛ no el burꝛ di buelta sobre ellos con toda la gente ꝛ rompimos por ellos / y fue tan grande el destroço que enellos bezimos que en poco tiempo no auia ninguno de todos los que salieron biuo / porque venian tan armados que el que caya enel suelo no se podia leuantar / ꝛ son sus armas vnos cosetes de tres dedos de algodon y basta enlos pies y flechas y lanças largas / y en cayendo la gente de pie los mataua todos. Aqui en este reencuentro me hirieron muchos españoles ꝛ ami con ellos que me dieron vn flechazo que me passaron la pierna y entro la flecha por la silla / dela qual herida quedo lisiado que me quedo la vna pierna mas corta que la otra bien quatro dedos: y en este pueblo me fue forçado estar cinco dias por curarnos / ꝛ al cabo dellos me parti pa otro pueblo llamado Tacuxcalco adõde embie por corredores del campo a don Pedro ꝛ a otros compañeros los quales prendieron dos espias que dixeron como adelante estaua mucha gente de guerra del dicho pueblo y de otros sus comarcanos esperando nos: ꝛ para mas certificar llegaron hasta ver la dicha gente ꝛ vieron mucha multitud della: ꝛ ala sazon llego Gonçalo de aluarado con quarenta de cauallo que lleuaua la delantera / porque yo venia como hecho malo dela herida: ꝛ bize cuerpo hasta tanto que llegamos todos / y llegados y recogida toda la gẽte cada vno en vn cauallo como pude por mejor poder dar orden como se acometiessen: ꝛ vi que auia vn cuerpo de gente de guerra toda hecha vna batalla de enemigos / y embie a Gomez de aluarado que acometiesse por la mano yzquierda con veynte de cauallo: ꝛ Gonçalo de aluarado por la mano derecha con treynta de cauallo: ꝛ Jorge de aluarado rompiesse con todos los de mas por la gente que verla de lexos era para espantar porque tenian todos los mas lanças de treynta palmos todas enarboladas: ꝛ yo me puse en vn cerro por ver bien como se bazia ꝛ vi que llegaron todos los españoles hasta vn fuego de berron de los yndios / ꝛ que ni los yndios abuyan ni los españoles acometian / que yo estuue espantado delos yndios que assi osaron esperar. Los españoles no los auian acometido por

que penſauan que vn prado que ſe bazia en medio delos vnos y delos otros era cienaga y deſpues que vieron que eſtaua teſo y bueno rompieron por los yndios y deſbarataron los y fueron ſiguiendo el alcance por el pueblo mas de vna legua y aqui ſe bizo muy gran matança y caſtigo: y como los pueblos de adelante vieron que en campo los deſbaratauamos determinaron de alçarſe y derramos los pueblos: y en eſte pueblo bolgue dos dias: y al cabo dellos me parti para vn pueblo que ſe dize Chiaguacian y tambien ſe fueron al mõte como los otros. E de aqui me parti para otro pueblo que ſe dize Atebuã: y alli me embiaron los ſeñores de Cuxcacian ſus menſajeros para que dieſſen la obidiencia a ſus majeſtades y a dezir que ellos querian ſer ſus vaſſallos y ſer buenos: y aſſi la dieron ami en ſu nombre: y yo los reſcebi penſando que no me mentirian como los otros: y llegando que llegue a eſta ciudad de Cuxcacian halle muchos yndios della que me reſcibieron y todo el pueblo alçado: y mientras nos aſentamos no quedo hombre dellos en el pueblo que todos ſe fueron alas ſierras. E como vi eſto yo embie mis menſajeros alos ſeñores de alli a dezirles que no fueſſen malos y que miraſſen que auian dado la obidiencia a ſu majeſtad y ami en ſu nombre aſſegurando les que viniеſſen que yo no les yua a fazer guerra ni a tomarles lo ſuyo ſino a traerlos al ſeruicio de dios nuestro ſeñor y de ſu majeſtad / embiaronme dezir que no conoſcian a nadie / que no querian venir / que ſi algo les queria que alli eſtauã eſperando con ſus armas. E deſque vi ſu mal propoſito les embie vn mandamiento y requerimiento de parte del emperador nuestro ſeñor en que les requeria y mandaua que no quebrantaſſen las pazes ni ſe rebelaſſen pues ya ſe auian dado por ſus vaſſallos / donde no q̃ procederia contra ellos como contra traydores alçados y rebelados contra el ſeruicio de ſu majeſtad y que les baria la guerra / y todos los que enella fueſſen tomados a vida ſeriã eſclauos y los herrarian: y que ſi fueſſen leales de mi ſerian fauoreſcidos y amparados como vaſſallos de ſu majeſtad. E a eſto ni bolvieron los menſajeros ni reſpueſta dellos: y como vi ſu dañada intencion y porque aquella tierra no quedaſſe ſin caſtigo embie gente a buſcarlos alos montes y ſierras / los quales hallaron de guerra y pelearon conellos y hirieron eſpañoles y yndios mis amigos: y deſpues de todo eſto fue preſo vn principal deſta ciudad: y para mas juſtificacion ſe le torne a embiar con otro mi mandamiento y requerimiento: y reſpondieron lo miſmo que antes. E luego como vi eſto yo bize proceſſo contra ellos y contra los otros que me auian dado la guerra y los llame por pregones / y tampoco quiſieron venir. E como vi ſu rebeldia y el proceſſo cerrado los ſentencie y di por traydores y a pena de muerte alos ſeñores deſtas prouincias y a todos los de mas que ſe ouieſſen tomado durante la guerra y ſe tomaſſen deſpues baſta en tanto que dieſſen la obidiencia a ſu majeſtad fueſſen eſclauos y ſe herraſſen / y öllos o de ſu valor ſe pagaſſen onze cauallos que en la conquiſta dellos fueron muertos y los que de aqui adelante mataſſen y mas las otras coſas de armas y otras coſas neceſſarias ala dicha conquiſta. Sobre eſtos yndios deſta dicha ciudad de Cuxcacian eſtuue diez y ſiete dias que nunca por entradas que mande bazer ni menſajeros que les bize como be dicho los pude atraer por la mucha eſpeſſura de montes y grandes ſierras y quebradas y otras muchas fuerças que tenian.

¶ Aqui ſupe de muy grandes tierras la tierra adentro ciudades de cal y canto: y ſupe de los naturales como eſta tierra no tiene cabo: y para conquiſtar ſe ſegun es grãde y de muy grandiſſimas poblaciones es meneſter mucho eſpacio de tiempo y por el rezio y nuerno que entra no paſſo mas adelante a conquiſtar / antes acorde de me bolver a eſta ciudad de Guatemala y de pacificar de buelta la tierra que atras dexaua: y por quanto bize y en ello trabaje nunca los pude atraer al ſeruicio de ſu majeſtad porque toda eſta coſta del ſur por donde fue es muy montoſa y las ſierras cerca donde tienen el acogida. Aſſi que yo ſoy venido a eſta ciudad por las muchas aguas a donde para mejor conquiſtar y pacificar eſta tierra tan grande y tan rezia de gente bize y dedifique en nombre de ſu majeſtad vna ciudad de eſpañoles que ſe dize la ciudad de ſeñor Santiago porque deſde aqui eſta enel

rision de toda la tierra ⁊ay mas ⁊mejor aparejo para la dicha cõquista ⁊pacificacion ⁊para poblar lo de adelante y elegidos alcaldes ordinarios ⁊quatro regidores segũ vuestra merced alla vera por la eleccion.

¶ Passados estos dos meses de inuierno q̃ quedan que son los mas rezios de todo saldre desta ciudad en demanda dela prouincia de Tapalan q̃ esta quinze jornadas de aqui la tierra adentro/q̃ segun soy informado es la ciudad tan grande como essa de Mexico y de grãdes hedificios y de cal y canto ⁊ açoteas:⁊ sin esta ay otras muchas ⁊ quatro o cinco villas an venido aqui ami a dar la obidiencia a su majestad:⁊ dizen q̃ la vna dellas tiene treynta mil vezinos/no me marauillo por q̃ segun son grãdes los pueblos desta costa q̃ la tierra a dentro aya lo que dizen. Este verano q̃ viene plaziendo a nr̃o señor pienso passar doziẽtas leguas adelãte dõde pienso su majestad sera muy seruido ⁊su estado augmẽtado:⁊ vra merced terna noticia de otras cosas nueuas.

¶ Desde essa ciudad de Mexico basta lo q̃ yo he andado ⁊conquistado ay quatrocientas leguas. Y crea vra merced q̃ es mas poblada esta tierra y de mas gente q̃ toda la q̃ vuestra merced basta agora ha gouernado.

¶ En esta tierra auemos hallado vna sierra do esta vn Bolcan q̃ es la mas espantable cosa que se ha visto q̃ echa por la boca piedras tan grãdes como vna casa ardiendo en biuas llamas y quãdo caen se hazen pedaços:y cubren toda la sierra de fuego.

¶ Adelante desta sesenta leguas vimos otro Bolcan q̃ hecha humo muy espantable que sube al cielo/y de ancho de cõpas de media legua el bulto del humo. Todos los rios que de alli descienden no ay quien beua el agua porque sabe a açubre:y especialmente viene de alli vn rio caudal muy hermoso tan ardiendo que no lo podian passar cierta gente de mi cõpañia que yua a hazer vna entrada:y andando a buscar vado hallarõ otro rio frio q̃ entraua en este:⁊ alli donde se juntaua hallaron vado tẽplado q̃ lo pudieron passar. Delas cosas destas partes no ay mas que hazer saber a vra merced sino q̃ me dizẽ los indos q̃ desta mar del sur ala del norte ay vn ynuierno ⁊ vn verano de andadura.

¶ Vuestra merced me hizo merced dela tenẽcia dessa ciudad ⁊ yo la ayude a ganar y la defendi quãdo estaua dẽtro cõel peligro ⁊ trabaso q̃ vra merced sabe:⁊ si oviera ydo en España/por lo q̃ yo a su majestad he seruido me la cõfirmara ⁊ me hiziera mas mercedes/an me dicho q̃ su majestad la ha prouey do:no me marauillo pues q̃ de mi no tiene noticia:y desto no tiene nadie la culpa sino vra merced por no auer hecho relació a su majestad ỏlo que yo le he seruido/pues me embio aca suplico a vra merced le haga relació de quiẽ soy ⁊ lo que a su majestad he seruido en estas partes y dõde ando y lo q̃ nueuamẽte le he conquistado ⁊ la volũtad que tengo de le seruir en lo de adelante:y de como en su seruicio me an lisiado de vna pierna/⁊ quan poco sueldo basta agora he ganado yo y estos hidalgos q̃ en mi cõpañia andan/y el poco prouecho q̃ hasta agora se nos ha seguido. Rũo señor prosperamente crezca la vida ⁊ muy magnifico estado de vra merced por largos tiempos. Desta ciudad de Santiago a.xxviij. de julio de mil ⁊ quinientos ⁊.xxiiij. años Pedro de albarado.

Fue impreſſa la preſente carta de relacion
enla ymperial ciudad de Toledo por Gaſpar de auila.
Acabo ſe a veynte diasdel mes de Octubre.
Año del naſcimiento de nueſtro ſalua-
dor Jeſu chriſto de mil y quinien
tos y veynte y cinco
años.

ACCOUNT GIVEN BY PEDRO DE ALVARADO TO HERNANDO CORTES

Sir: From Sonconusco I wrote to Your Grace all that had happened to me as far as that place and even something of what was expected to happen further on. And after having sent my messengers to this country, informing them of how I was to come to conquer and pacify the provinces that might not be willing to place themselves under the dominion of His Majesty, I asked of them as his vassals (for as such they had offered themselves to Your Grace) the favor and assistance and passage through their country; that by so doing, they would act as good and loyal vassals of His Majesty and that they would be greatly favored and supported in all justice by me and the Spaniards in my company; and if not, I threatened to make war on them as on traitors rising in rebellion against the service of our Lord the Emperor and that as such they would be treated, and that in addition to this, I

would make slaves of all those who should be taken alive in the war. And having done all this and despatched the messengers, who were men of their own people, I reviewed all my men, both foot and horse. And the next day, on the morning of Saturday, I set out in search of their land, and after marching for three days through uninhabited forest, we pitched our camp, and the scouts whom I had sent out captured three spies from a town in their country named Zapotulan.[1] I asked them what they came for and they told me that they were collecting honey, but it was notorious that they were spies, as it later on appeared. Notwithstanding all this, as I wished to treat them reasonably before compelling them, I gave them another command and requirement as before, and sent them to the chiefs of the said town. To none of my requests did I receive any answer.

Arriving at this town, I found all the roads open and very wide, the highway as well as the crossroads, but the roads that ran to the principal streets were obstructed, and then I understood their evil intentions and that everything

was arranged to fight us. There came a few of them sent to me and from a distance they told me I should enter into the town to lodge, intending that they might fight us at their convenience, as it had been ordered. That day I camped near the town until I would be able to reconnoitre the country to see the plans they had. Later that same afternoon they could not conceal their bad intentions and they killed and wounded some of the Indians of my army. When I was informed of this, I sent some of the horsemen to reconnoitre the country and they found many warriors with whom they fought, and that afternoon some horses were wounded.

Next day I went to examine the road by which we had to advance and also saw warriors, and the country was so thickly wooded, covered with trees and cocoa plantations, that it was very favorable for them and not for us, so I returned to camp. Next day I left with all my men to enter the town. In the road was a river[2] difficult to cross, at which the Indians had taken their position, and there, after a struggle, we defeated them. On the high

bank of the river, on a plain, I waited for the stragglers because the way was very dangerous and caused much trouble, although I carried the best outfit that could be had. Being as I have said, on the river bank, they came from many parts through the woods, and assaulted me again, and we resisted them for a long while until we had carried all our baggage across. And, after entering in the houses we struck down the people, and continued the pursuit as far as the market place and half a league beyond, afterwards returning to the market place to camp. Here we were two days reconnoitering the country. And at the end of that time I left for another town called Quezaltenango. That day I crossed two rivers with very steep, rocky banks, which we passed with much difficulty, and commenced to climb a mountain pass[8] that was six leagues in length; half way up I made camp that night. The pass was so rough that the horses could scarcely climb. Next morning I continued and above a gully I found a woman and a dog sacrificed, which my interpreter informed me was a challenge. Continuing our march, we

found in a very narrow pass, a stone barricade with strong palings, but nobody in it. We had just got through the pass with the archers and infantry in front of me, as the horses had not been able to keep up with us on account of the roughness of the road, when there appeared about 3,000 or 4,000 warriors above a ravine and struck at the contingent of our friends and caused them to retreat; then we defeated them. While up there, collecting the people to rally them, I saw more than 30,000 men coming towards us. I thanked God that there we found some plains, and although the horses were tired and fatigued from the pass, we waited some time for them (the Indians) to arrive to throw arrows at us; and we attacked them. As they had never seen horses they showed much fear, and we made a very good advance and scattered them and many of them died.

Then we awaited all our people and gathered together, and went to camp a league away near some springs because there we had no water and were suffering greatly from thirst, and as we were very tired, any place was a good site

to camp. As the country was flat I took the lead with 30 horsemen. Many of us had taken along a relay of horses. The rest of the men came in a body, and then I dismounted to drink the water. While dismounted and drinking, we saw many warriors approaching and we allowed them to approach as they came over very wide plains; and we defeated them. Here we made another very big advance to where we found people awaiting us, one of them to two horsemen.[4] We continued the pursuit for a full league and they brought us to a mountain and there they faced us, and I put myself in flight with some of the horsemen to draw the Indians to the plains, and they followed us, until reaching the horses' tails. And after I rallied with the horsemen, I turned on them, and here a very severe pursuit and punishment was made. In this affair one of the four chiefs of the city of Utlatan was killed, who was the captain general of all this country. I returned to the spring and there made camp that night, greatly fatigued, and with several Spaniards and horses wounded.

Next day in the morning I left for the town

of Quezaltenango,[5] a league away, and after yesterday's punishment I found it empty—not even a single person there. I camped and re-organized and reconnoitered the country, which is as thickly populated as Tlascala and equally cultivated and excessively cold.

At the end of six days that I had been here, one Thursday at noon, a great multitude of people appeared on many sides and according to what I learned from them, 12,000 were from this city and surrounding towns and the others they said could not be counted. From the moment I saw them, I put my men in order, and went out to give them battle with 90 horsemen, in the middle of a plain three leagues long. I left men in the camp to guard it, and at a gun-shot from the camp and no more, we commenced to crush them and scattered them in all directions and followed them in pursuit for two leagues and a half until all of them were routed and nobody left in front of us. Later we returned against them, and our friends and the infantry made the greatest destruction in the world, at a river. They surrounded a bare mountain

where they had taken refuge, and pursued them to the top, and took all that had gone up there. That day we killed and imprisoned many people, many of whom were captains and chiefs and people of importance.

And when the chiefs of this town found that their people were defeated, they took counsel with all the land and called many other provinces to them, and gave tribute to their enemies and induced them to join them, so that all might come together and kill us. And they agreed to send and tell us that they had wished to be friends, and that again they gave obedience to our Lord the Emperor, so that I should enter the city of Utlatan,[6] where they afterwards brought me, thinking that they would lodge me there, and that when thus encamped, they would set fire to the town some night and burn us all in it, without the possibility of resistance. And in truth their evil plan would have come to pass but that God our Lord did not see good that these infidels should be victorious over us, for this city is very, very strong, and there are only two ways of entering it; one of over thirty steep

stone steps and the other by a causeway made by hand, much of which was already cut away, so that that night they might finish cutting it, and no horse could then have escaped into the country. As the city is very closely built and the streets very narrow, we could not have stood it in any way without either suffocating or else falling headlong from the rocks when fleeing from the fire. And as we rode up and I could see how large the stronghold was, and that within it we could not avail ourselves or the horses because the streets were so narrow and walled in, I determined at once to clear out of it on to the plain, although the chiefs of the town asked me not to do so, and invited me to seat myself and eat before I departed, so as to gain time to carry out their plans. But I knew the danger in which we were, and at once sent some men ahead of me to take possesssion of the causeway and bridge, so that I could get out on to the plain, and the causeway was already in such a condition that one could hardly get over it on horseback, and outside the city were many warriors, and as they saw me pass out

on to the plain, they retreated, but not so much that I did not receive much harm from them. But I concealed it all so that I might capture the chiefs who were taking to flight and by the cunning with which I approached them, and through presents which I gave them, the better to carry out my plan, I took them captive and held them prisoners in my camp. But, nevertheless, their people did not cease fighting against me in the neighborhood and killed and wounded many Indians who had gone out to gather grass. And one Spaniard who was gathering grass, a gunshot from camp, was slain by a stone rolled down the hill. This land is very full of gullies; there are gullies two hundred *estados*[7] in depth, and on account of them, one cannot carry on war and punish these people as they deserve.

And seeing that by fire and sword I might bring these people to the service of His Majesty, I determined to burn the chiefs[8] who, at the time that I wanted to burn them, told me, as it will appear in their confessions, that they were the ones who had ordered the war

against me and were the ones also who made it. They told me about the way they were to do so, to burn me in the city, and that with this thought (in their minds) they had brought me there, and that they had ordered their vassals not to come and give obedience to our Lord the Emperor, nor help us, nor do anything else that was right. And as I knew them to have such a bad disposition towards the service of His Majesty, and to insure the good and peace of this land, I burnt them, and sent to burn the town and to destroy it, for it is a very strong and dangerous place, that more resembles a robbers' stronghold than a city. And to enable me to hunt out these people I sent to the city of Guatemala, which is ten leagues distant from this place, and ordered them on the part of His Majesty to send me some warriors (and this I did so that I could find out what their disposition was, as well as to strike terror into the land), and they were well disposed toward me and agreed to do so, and sent me four thousand men,[9] and with these men and those that were already with me, I made an expedition and chased them and

threw them out of the entire country. And seeing the damages which they had suffered, they sent me messengers to tell me that now they wished to be good, and that if they had erred, it had been at the order of their chiefs, and that while their chiefs had been living they dared not do otherwise, but as now their chiefs were dead they prayed me to pardon them, and I spared their lives, and ordered them to return to their houses and live as they had done formerly; and this they did, and at the present time I have them in the same condition as they were formerly, at the service of His Majesty. And for greater security I gave liberty to two sons of the chiefs, whom I placed in their fathers' positions, and I believe that they will carry out faithfully all that tends to the service of His Majesty and the good of his lands. And as far as touches the war, I have nothing more at present to relate, but that all the prisoners of war were branded and made slaves, of whom I gave His Majesty's fifth part to the treasurer, Baltasar de Mendoza, which he sold by public auction, so that the payment to His Majesty should be secure.

I would wish Your Grace to know that the country is healthy and the climate temperate, and well populated, with many strong towns, and that this city is well built and wonderfully strong, and has much corn land and many people subject to it, the which, with all the subject towns and neighborhoods, I have placed under the yoke and in the service of the royal crown of His Majesty.

In this country there is a mountain range of alum, another of copperas and another of sulphur, the best which I have yet seen and with a piece of it which they brought me, without refining or any such process, I made half an arroba of very good gun-powder; but as I wish to send off Argueta without delay, I do not send to Your Grace 50 loads of it, but whenever there should be a messenger there will be time for it.

On Monday, April 11th, I am leaving for Guatemala, where I mean to stop but a short time, because the town which is situated on the water called Atitlan is at war, and has killed four of my messengers, and I think with the aid of our Lord soon to subdue it to the service of His Majesty.

According to my information I have much to do in the future and I am therefore in haste to winter 50 or 100 leagues beyond Guatemala, where they tell me, and I have notice from the natives of this land, of marvelous and large buildings and wonderful cities that are there. Also they tell me that five days' journey beyond a large city that is twenty days' journey from here, is the end of this country, and they confirm it. If it is so, I am certain it is the strait.[10] May it please God to give me victory over these infidels so that I may bring them to His service or that of His Majesty. I should not wish to give this account piecemeal, but after everything is finished, because I would have much more to say. The Spaniards of my company, both horse and foot, have conducted themselves so well in the war that they are worthy of great thanks. At present I have nothing more of importance to say except that we are in the wildest country and people one has ever seen, and so that our Lord may give us victory I supplicate Your Grace to ordain that a procession be held in your city of all the priests and friars so that

our Lord may help us. We are so far from help that if He does not help us, nobody can. Also be sure to inform His Majesty how we have served him with our persons and our properties at our own cost, for your own conscience' sake and so that His Majesty may grant us privileges. May our Lord protect the very magnificent person of Your Grace for as long a time as you desire. From this city of Utlatan, April 11.

As I am on a long voyage and think I will lack horseshoes, if, during the coming summer, Your Grace could provide me with same, it would be very well, and His Majesty will be well served by it. They are now worth here 190 pesos a dozen and so we are trading them and paying for them in gold.

I kiss the hands of Your Grace.

PEDRO DE ALVARADO

ANOTHER ACCOUNT GIVEN BY PEDRO DE ALVARADO TO HERNANDO CORTES

Sir: Of the things that had happened to me up to Utlatan, as well in the war as otherwise, I gave a long account to Your Grace; and now I wish to give you an account of all the lands that I have travelled and conquered and of all other things that have happened to me, and that is:—

That I, Sir, left the City of Utlatan and came in two days to this city of Guatemala[11] where I was very well received by its chiefs,[12] that I could not have been better off in our parents' house, and we were so well provided with everything necessary that nothing was lacking. And at the end of eight days that I was in this city, I knew from the chiefs of it that seven leagues from here was another city[13] on a very large lake, and that it made war against this city, and against Utlatan and against all others in their neighborhood, and that they were very strong on account of the lake and

their canoes, and that from there they came out to make night raids on this land; and as the people of this city saw the damage that they received from them, they told me they were good people and in the service of His Majesty and that they did not wish to make war or go against them without my permission, praying me that I should help them. And I told them that I would send to call them on the part of our lord the Emperor and that if they should come I would command them not to make war nor do anything wrong in this land, as they had heretofore done, and if they did not come, I would go with them to make war and punish them. I therefore sent them two messengers, natives of this city, whom they killed without any fear.

When I was informed and seeing their wickedness, I left this city to go against them with sixty horsemen and a hundred and fifty foot, in company with the chieftains and people of this land, and we marched so quickly that we arrived in the enemy's land on the same day. And no one came out to receive me in peace or otherwise, and when I was

aware of this I started with thirty horsemen through the country to the shores of the lake, and when we came to an inhabited rock, which stood out in the water, we saw a company of men very near us, and I attacked them with the horsemen that were with me, and as we followed in pursuit they got on to a very narrow causeway which led to the rock, where we could not follow on horseback, so I and my companions dismounted, and on foot, together, and at the heels of the Indians, we reached the rock, so that they had no time to break down the bridges, for had they done so we could not have reached them. In the meantime many of my men who had been marching behind me came up to us, and we gained possession of the rock, which was thickly inhabited, but all the people threw themselves into the water to swim to another island. And many of them escaped, because my allies, who were bringing three hundred canoes across the lake, did not arrive soon enough. And that afternoon I left the rock with all my men and we camped in a maize field where we passed the night.

And the next day we commended ourselves to God and set out for the town on ahead of us, which was very strong on account of the many rocks and palisades about it, and we found it deserted. And as they had lost the fortress which they had in the lake, they did not dare to face us on land, although a few of them waited for us at the end of the town; but owing to the roughness of the ground, which I have already mentioned, no more people were killed. We encamped there about midday, and commenced to reconnoitre the country, and we captured some of the native Indians, and I sent off three of them as messengers to their chiefs, advising them that they should come and render obedience to His Majesty and submit themselves to the Imperial crown and to me in His Majesty's name, or otherwise I should still carry on the war and follow them and seek them in the mountains. These chiefs replied to me that hitherto their land had never been broken into nor entered by force of arms, and that since I had forced an entrance they would be glad to serve His Majesty in any way I might direct them, and soon

afterwards they came to place themselves at my orders, and I gave them to understand the greatness and power of our lord the Emperor, and that they should appreciate that for all that had passed, I, in His Royal name, would pardon them, and that from now on they should behave themselves and not make war against anybody in the neighborhood, as all were now vassals of His Majesty; so I dismissed them, leaving them safe and peaceful, and returned to this city. At the end of three days after my arrival there, all the chiefs, principal people and captains of the said lake came to me with presents and told me that now they were our friends and considered themselves fortunate to be vassals of His Majesty and relieved of hardships, wars and differences that they had amongst themselves. And I received them very well and gave them some of my jewels and sent them back to their country with much affection, and they are the most pacific that are in this land.[14]

While I was in this city, many chiefs of other provinces of the south coast came to give obedience to Their Majesties saying that they

wished to be their vassals and did not wish to war with anybody, and that therefore I should receive them as such and favor them and maintain them in justice. And I received them very well, as was proper, and told them that they would be favored and helped by me in the name of His Majesty.

And they told me of another province that is called Yscuintepeque[15] that is somewhat more inland, that would not allow them to come to give obedience to His Majesty, and not only this, but that other provinces of that part of the land were well disposed and wished to come in peace, and that those people would not allow them to pass, asking them where they were going, and saying they were crazy and that they should allow me to go there and then all would make war on me. And as I was assured that this was so, as well by those provinces as by the chiefs of this city of Guatemala, I left with all my people, both foot and horse, and remained encamped for three days in a desert. Next morning when we entered the outskirts of the said town, that is very heavily wooded, we found all the roads

closed and very narrow—really only pathways—because they did not trade with anybody and had no open road. And I sent the cross-bowmen ahead because the horsemen could not fight there on account of the many marshes and wooded thickets. And it rained so much that on this account their watchmen and spies had returned to the town; and as they did not think I would arrive amongst them that day, they were somewhat careless and did not know of my sally until I was in the town amongst them; and when I entered, all the warriors were huddled together in houses because it rained so much, and when they wanted to form they had no time, although some of them still waited and wounded some Spaniards and many of the friendly Indians that were with me, and because of the thick woods and rain, they escaped into the forest, so I had no opportunity to do them any damage except to burn their town. And then I sent messengers to the chiefs, telling them that they should come to give obedience to Their Majesties and to me in their name, and if not, I would do great damage to their land and lay waste their maize

fields. They came and gave themselves as vassals of His Majesty, and I received them and ordered them to be good in the future; and I remained eight days in this town. And to this place there came many other towns and provinces in peace, who offered themselves as vassals of our lord the Emperor.

And wishing to explore the country and know its secrets so that His Majesty may be better served and possess and rule more lands, I determined to leave here, and went to a town called Atiepar,[16] where I was received by the chiefs and natives who are of a different language and race; and at sunset without any reason it was suddenly depopulated and cleared out, and one could not find a man in all the town. And in order to prevent the rigor of winter catching me there and impeding my journey, I left them, and passed on without stopping, taking all provisions and equipment with my army because my wish was to explore a hundred leagues further, and on the way accomplish whatever might happen until I had explored them fully, and on the return fight them and pacify them. And the following

day I left and went to another town called Tacuylula and here they did the same as the people of Atiepar, receiving me in peace and hiding an hour afterward. And I left here and went to another town which is called Taxisco, which is very strong and has many people, and was received as by the previous ones; and I slept there that night. And next day I left for another very large town that is called Nacendelan, and fearing those people as I did not understand them, I left ten horsemen as a rear-guard and ten more with the baggage, and continued my march. And I might have gone two or three leagues from the said town of Taxisco when I heard that warriors had come out and fought with the rear-guard and had killed many friendly Indians and taken a large part of the baggage and all the strings of the bowmen and all the iron that I carried for the war, and they could not resist them. And at once I sent Jorge de Alvarado, my brother, with forty or fifty horsemen, to look for all that they had taken, and he found many armed people in the fields, and he fought with them and defeated them, and could recover

nothing that had been lost because the clothes had already been torn in pieces and each one wore a loin cloth of it in the war. And having arrived at this town of Nacendelan, Jorge de Alvarado returned, because all the Indians had fled to the mountains. And from here I again sent Don Pedro with foot soldiers that he might search the mountains for them and see if he would be able to bring them to the service of His Majesty, and never could anything be done on account of the great thickness of the forests, and so he returned. And I sent Indians of their own country to them as messengers with requirements and orders, and warning them that if they did not come I would make them slaves, and with all this they did not wish to come, neither the messengers nor themselves.

And at the end of eight days that I had been in this town of Nacendelan, there came a people in peace called Pasaco, which was on the road by which we had to go, and I received them and gave them of what we had and I entreated them that they be good. And next morning I left for this town, and at its

entrance found the roads closed and many stakes thrust in, and when I was entering into the town I saw certain Indians cutting a dog in quarters in the manner of a sacrifice, and in the said town they made an uproar, and we saw a great multitude of the people of the country, and we attacked them, breaking them up until we drove them from the town, and we followed them in pursuit all we could.

And from here I left for another town called Mopicalco and was received in exactly the same way as in the others, and when I arrived at the town I did not find a living person. And from here I left for another town called Acatepeque where I found nobody, it being entirely abandoned rather.

And following my idea, which was to explore the said hundred leagues, I left for another town called Acaxual,[17] which is on the coast of the south sea, and when I had arrived within half a league of the said town, I saw the fields full of its warriors with their plumage and insignias and with their offensive and defensive arms, in the middle of a plain where they were awaiting me, and I arrived within

a bow-shot of them, and there I waited until all my people had arrived, and after we had gathered, I went about half a bow-shot towards the warriors and there was no movement or alteration in them that I could tell, and it seemed to me that they were somewhat near to a woods where they could shelter from me, and I ordered that all my people retreat, (who were a hundred horsemen and a hundred and fifty foot, and about five or six thousand friendly Indians), and so we were retreating, and I remained in the rearguard to make the people retire. The pleasure they had on seeing me retire was so great that they followed me, even up to the horses' tails,—the arrows that they shot passed in front of us. And all this took place on a plain where neither for them nor us was there anything to stumble over. And when I had retreated a quarter of a league to where each one had to fight instead of running away, I turned on them with all my people and broke through their ranks. And the destruction that we made amongst them was so great that in a short time none were left alive, because they came so heavily

armed that those who fell to the ground could not get up, and their arms are corslets of cotton three fingers thick, reaching to their feet, and arrows and long lances, and when falling, the foot soldiers killed all of them. In this encounter many Spaniards were wounded, myself amongst the rest. They shot an arrow at me that passed through my leg and entered my saddle, from which wound I remained lame, as one leg remained shorter than the other a good four fingers. And I was forced to remain five days in this town to cure our wounds.

And at the end of that time I left for another town called Tacuxalco,[18] to where I sent as scouts Don Pedro and other companions, who caught two spies who told us that ahead were many warriors of that town and others near by, awaiting us, and to make certain, they went forward to see the said people, and saw a great multitude of them. At this time Gonzalo de Alvarado, who was leading the advance, arrived with forty horsemen, because I was coming, as I have said, suffering from a wound, and he made front until we had

all arrived. As soon as we all had arrived and all the forces were gathered, I mounted a horse as best I could, in order to be better able to arrange the attack. And I saw that they had a body of warriors ready and formed in battle against the enemy, and I sent Gomez de Alvarado with twenty horsemen to attack them on the left hand, and Gonzalo de Alvarado with thirty horsemen on the right hand, and Jorge de Alvarado should attack them with the rest of the army. To see them from afar was terrifying, because most of them had lances thirty palms long, all raised high. And I mounted a hill to better see what happened and I saw that all the Spaniards arrived at within a quoit's length of the Indians and that neither the Indians fled nor the Spaniards attacked, so that I was afraid of the Indians who so dared to wait. The Spaniards had not attacked them because they thought that a field that lay between them was a marsh, and after they saw it was firm and good, they attacked the Indians and defeated them, and were following in pursuit through the town for more than a league; and here they made a

great massacre and punishment. And as the people thereafter saw that we defeated them in the plain, they determined to hide and leave us the towns. And in this town I rested two days, and at the end of that time I left for a town called Miaguaclam, and also they left for the woods like the others. And from here I left for another town called Atehuan[19] and there the chiefs of Cuxcaclan sent me their messengers to give obedience to Their Majesties and to say they wished to be his vassals and be good. Thus they gave their obedience to me in Their Majesties' name, and I received them, thinking that they would not lie like the others. And arriving at this city of Cuzcaclan[20] I found many Indians who received me, and the whole town empty. And while we were making camp, there did not remain a man of them in the town, and all went to the hills. And as I saw this, I sent my messengers to the chiefs there to tell them that they behaved badly, and to understand that they had given obedience to His Majesty and to me in his name, assuring them that if they came, I would not make war against them nor take

their property, but merely bring them to the service of God and His Majesty. They sent me word they did not know either of them, that they did not wish to come, and that if I wanted anything from them, they were there waiting with their arms. And when I saw their evil intentions, I sent them an order and requirement on the part of the Emperor, in which I required and ordered that they should not break the peace nor revolt, as they had already given themselves as his vassals, and if not, I would proceed against them as rebellious traitors and rebels against the service of His Majesty, and that I would make war against them, and all that were taken alive would be slaves and would be branded, and that if they were loyal, they would be favored and protected by me as vassals of His Majesty. And to this, neither the messengers returned, nor was there any answer from them. And as I saw their wickedness, and because that country should not remain without punishment, I sent the army to the woods and mountains to look for them, who found the warriors and fought with them, and Spaniards and

friendly Indians were wounded. And after all this, a principal of this city was made prisoner, and for greater justification I returned him again with another order, and they answered the same as before. And then, as I saw this, I proceeded against them and against the others that had made war against me, and called them by proclamation, and still they would not come, and as I saw their rebelliousness, and the proceedings were closed, I sentenced them, as traitors, to death, both the chiefs of these provinces and all the others that had been taken during the war, and might be taken henceforth, until such time that they would give obedience to His Majesty, should be slaves and be branded. And that from them and from their value, they should pay eleven horses that had been killed in conquering them, and all those that might thereafter be killed, and for the arms and other necessary things for such a conquest. After these Indians of this said city of Cuxcaclan I was for seventeen days, and never by the expeditions I ordered to be made, nor the messengers I sent them, as I have told, could I attract

them, on account of the great thickness of the woods and the great mountains and broken ground and other great powers that they had.

Here I learnt of very great countries inland, cities of stone and mortar, and learnt from the natives that this land has no end, and to conquer it, as it is large and of very great cities, much time is required, and on account of the rigorous winter that was beginning, I did not go farther to conquer, but rather decided to return to this city of Guatemala, and to pacify, while returning, the country that I had left behind. And so I did, and labored with them, but never could attract them to the service of His Majesty, because all this southern coast where I went, is densely wooded and the mountains are near, where they have a refuge. So it is that I am come to this city on account of the heavy rains, where, for the better conquest and pacification of this land, so great and so thickly inhabited, I made and built in the name of His Majesty, a Spanish city[21] which is called the city of our lord Santiago, because this is the centre of all the country, and there are more and better arrangements for the

said conquest and pacification, and to populate the surrounding country. And I elected two Alcaldes Ordinarios and four Regidores, as Your Grace will see by the election.

At the end of these two coming winter months, which are the most rigorous of all, I will leave from this city in quest of the province of Tepalan that is fifteen days' journey from here towards the interior, which, according to my information, is a city as large as that of Mexico, of large buildings of rough stone and mortar, and flat roofed. And apart from this there are many others, and four or five of them have come here to me to give obedience to His Majesty, and they say that one of them has thirty thousand inhabitants. I do not wonder at it because, as the towns of this coast are so large, the interior of the country may have what they say. This coming summer, God willing, I expect to go forward two hundred leagues, where I think His Majesty will be well served and his estate augmented. And Your Grace will have news of other new matters. From that city of Mexico to where I have travelled and conquered there

are four hundred leagues, and, believe it Your Grace, that this land is more populated and has more people than all the lands that Your Grace has governed up to now.

In this country we have found a mountain range where there is a volcano that is the most terrifying thing ever seen, that throws from its mouth stones as large as a house, burning in living flames, and when they fall, they break in pieces and cover all the mountain with fire.

Sixty leagues beyond this we saw another volcano, which threw out very terrifying smoke that rose to the sky and which has a width or circumference of half a league. Nobody can drink the waters of any of the rivers that come down from there because they are sulphurous, and there is specially one large river which comes from there, very beautiful, and so hot that it could not be crossed by certain people of my company who were making a certain raid. They went to look for a ford and they found another, cold river that entered into this one, and there where they joined, they found a temperate ford where they could cross.

Of the things of these parts there is not more to advise Your Grace, but that the Indians tell me that from this southern sea to that of the north there is a winter's and a summer's travel. As the Indians say so it is of course to be understood that the journey is made on foot.

Your Grace gave me the honor of the Lieutenancy of this city, and I helped to gain it and defended it when I was there, with the danger and suffering that Your Grace knows, and if I might have gone to Spain, for what I have served His Majesty he would have confirmed me in it and granted me other favors. They tell me that His Majesty has disposed of it, which does not surprise me, as he has no notice of me, and for this, nobody is to blame but Your Grace for not having given an account to His Majesty of how I have served him since you sent me here. I pray Your Grace to give him an account of who I am and of how I have served His Majesty in these parts, and where I am and what I have conquered recently, and the will that I have to serve him, and will have in the future, and

how, in his service, I am lamed in one leg, and of how little return I and these hidalgos that are in my company, have received up to the present and the little profit that we have made so far.

May our Lord prosperously increase the life and very magnificent estate of Your Grace for a long time.

From this city of Santiago, the 28th day of July of 1524.

PEDRO DE ALVARADO

APPENDIX I

The coming of the Spaniards to Guatemala is recorded in a manuscript called the Annals of Xahila, written by native Cakchiquels in the Cakchiquel language, probably during the early half of the seventeenth century, although it was undoubtedly composed during the sixteenth century. Brinton has called it the Annals of the Cakchiquels, and has published the Indian text with a translation into English.

It is as follows:

On the day 5 Ah was the eighth year of the first cycle.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE CASTILIANS AT XETULUL

It was during this year that the Castilians arrived. Forty-nine years have passed since the Castilians came to Xepit and Xetulul. On the day 1 Ganel the Quiches were destroyed by the Castilians. Tunatiuh Avilantaro, as he was called, conquered all the towns. Their countenances were previously

unknown and the people rendered homage to sticks and stones.

On their arrival at Xelahub, the Quiche nation was routed and destroyed. All of them had hastened there to oppose the Castilians; and there the Quiche nation was destroyed, in front of Xelahub.

He then went to the city Gumarcaah, and there came before him the chiefs, the king, and the next in rank, and tribute was paid by the Quiches; and the chiefs suffered many torments from Tunatiuh.

On the day 4 Qat three chiefs, the king and the next in rank were burned alive by Tunatiuh, nor was the heart of Tunatiuh satisfied with war. Soon a messenger from Tunatiuh came to the chiefs that they should send him warriors: "Let the warriors of the Ahpozotzils and Ahpoxahils come to the slaughter of the Quiches!" So spoke the messenger of Tunatiuh to the chiefs. Immediately the words of Tunatiuh were published, and 400 men went forth to the slaughter of the Quiches; but they were only those of the city, the other warriors refusing to obey the chiefs. Only three times

did the warriors go forth to enforce the tribute on the Quiches; then we also were taken by Tunatiuh, O my children.

HOW THEY NOW CAME TO IXIMCHE

It was on the day 1 Hunahpu when the Castilians arrived at Iximche with their chief, Tunatiuh. The people went forth to meet Tunatiuh with the chiefs Belehe Qat and Cahi Ymox. Good was the heart of Tunatiuh when he entered the city with the chiefs. There was no fighting and Tunatiuh rejoiced when he entered Iximche. Thus did the Castilians enter of yore, O my children; but it was a fearful thing when they entered; their faces were strange, and the chiefs took them for gods. We, even we, your father, saw them when they first set foot in Iximche, at the palace of Tzupam where Tunatiuh slept. The chief came forth, and truly he frightened the warriors; he came from his chamber and called the rulers: "Why do you make war with me, when I also can make it?" said he, "Not at all. Why should so many warriors find their death? Do you see any pitfalls among them?" So

replied the chiefs, and he went to the house of the chief Chicbal.

The Tunatiuh agreed to join the chiefs in their wars, and the chiefs said to him: "O thou God, we have two wars, one with the Tzutuhils, one at Panatacat." Thus spake the chiefs. Only five days after, Tunatiuh went forth from the capital. Then the Tzutuhils were conquered by the Castilians. It was the day 7 Camey that the Tzutuhils were destroyed by the Castilians.

Twenty-five days afterwards Tunatiuh went forth from the capital to Cuzcatan going there to destroy Atacat. On the day 2 Queh, Atacat was slain by the Castilians, with all his warriors. There went with Tunatiuh all his Mexicans to this battle.

On the day 10 Hunahpu he returned from Cuzcatan. He had been absent only forty days to make the conquest at Cuzcatan when he returned to the capital. Then Tunatiuh asked for a daughter of one of the chiefs, and she was given to Tunatiuh by the chiefs.

A DEMAND FOR MONEY IS MADE

Then Tunatiuh began to ask the chiefs for money. He wished that they should give him jars full of precious metals, and even their drinking cups and crowns. Not receiving anything, Tunatiuh became angry and said to the chiefs: "Why have you not given me the metal? If you do not bring me the precious metal in all your towns, choose then, for I shall burn you alive and hang you." Thus did he speak to the chiefs.

Then Tunatiuh cut from three of them the gold ornaments they wore in their ears. The chiefs suffered keenly from this violence, and wept before him. But Tunatiuh was not troubled, and said: "I tell you that I want the gold here within five days. Woe to you if you do not give it. I know my heart." So said he to the chiefs. The word was then given. The chiefs gathered together all their metals, those of the parents and children of the king, and all that the chiefs could get from the people.

While they were gathering the gold for Tunatiuh, a priest of the Demon showed him-

self. "I am the lightning; I will destroy the Castilians." So said he to the chiefs. "I will destroy them by fire. When I beat the drum let the chiefs come forth and go to the other bank of the river. This I shall do on the day 7 Ahmak." Thus did this priest of the Demon speak to the chiefs. Truly the chiefs thought that they should trust in the words of this man. It was when they were gathering the gold that we went forth.

HOW WE WENT FORTH FROM THE CITY

The day 7 Ahmak was that of the going forth. They deserted the city of Iximche on account of the priest of the Demon, and the chiefs left it. "Yes, truly, Tunatiuh shall die," said they. "There is no more war in the heart of Tunatiuh, as he now rejoices in the gold given him." Thus it was that our city was abandoned on the day 7 Ahmak on account of a priest of the Demon, O my children.

But what the chiefs did was soon known to Tunatiuh. Ten days after we had left the city, war was begun by Tunatiuh. On the day 4 Camey began our destruction. Then began

our misery. We scattered in the forests; all our towns were taken, O my children; we were slaughtered by Tunatiuh. The Castilians entered the city and they arrived as to a deserted spot. From that time the Castilians were hated by the Cakchiquels. They made trenches, they dug pitfalls, that the horses might be killed, and war was waged by their men. Many men of the Castilians were slain, and many horses killed in the pitfalls. The Quiches and Tzutuhils were destroyed and all their villages ruined by the Cakchiquels. Only thus did the Castilians let them live, and only thus were they let live by all the villagers. One hundred and eighty days after the desertion of the city of Iximche was completed the ninth year (of the second cycle.)

On the day 2 Ah was completed the 29th year after the Revolt.

During the tenth year the war continued with the Castilians. But the Castilians having received aid in this tenth year at Xepau, carried on the war with such vigor that they destroyed the forces of the nation.

Tunatiuh then went forth from Xepau, and

so harrassed us that the people would not come before him. There were lacking one hundred and twenty days to complete two years since we had abandoned the capital, now deserted, when Tunatiuh came there on his march in order to set fire to the city. On the day 4 Camey, two years less six months after the beginning of the war, he set fire to the capital and returned.

On the day 12 Ah was completed the 30th year after the Revolt.

APPENDIX II

THE DIAZ ACCOUNT

Account given by Bernal Diaz del Castillo of the Conquest of Guatemala, in the "True History of the Conquest of New Spain," translated by Alfred P. Maudslay, Hakluyt Society, vol. 4, page 272.

CHAPTER CLXIV

How Cortes sent Pedro de Alvarado to the Province of Guatemala to found a city and bring the people to peace, and what was done about it.

Cortes always had lofty thoughts and in his ambition to command and rule wished in everything to copy Alexander of Macedon, and as he always had excellent Captains and accomplished soldiers about him, after he had established the great cities of Mexico, Oaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, la Vera Cruz, Panuco and Coatzacoalcos, as he had received news that in the Province of Guatemala there were strong towns with large populations, and that

there were mines there, he determined to send Pedro de Alvarado to conquer and settle it; for although Cortes himself had already sent to that Province to beg the people to come in peaceably, they would not come. So he gave to Alvarado for that expedition over three hundred soldiers and among them one hundred and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen. Moreover, he gave him one hundred and thirty five horsemen and four cannon and much powder, and a gunner named something de Usagre, and over two hundred Tlaxcalans and Cholulans, who went as auxiliaries. Then he gave him (Alvarado) his instructions, charging him to endeavor with the greatest care to bring the people to peace without making war on them, and to preach matters concerning our holy faith by means of certain interpreters and ecclesiastics whom he took with him, and not to permit sacrifices nor sodomy nor the robbing of one another; and that when he met with prisons and cages in which it was the custom to keep Indians confined in order to fatten them up for food, he should break them down and liberate the

captives from the prisons, and with kindness and good-will he should bring the people to render obedience to His Majesty, and in all respects should treat them well.

Then after Pedro de Alvarado had said good-bye to Cortes and all the gentlemen who were his friends in Mexico, they took leave of one another and he set out from that city on the thirteenth day of the month of November in the year 1523.

Cortes ordered him to go by certain rocky hills in the province of Tehuantepec, which were near his road, where the people were in revolt. He brought (the inhabitants of) these rocky hills to peace. The hill was known as the Penol de Guelamo because it was then in the encomienda of a soldier named Guelamo.

From thence he went to Tehuantepec, a large pueblo of the Zapotecs, where they received him very well for they were at peace, and they had already gone from that town to Mexico and given their fealty to His Majesty and had seen Cortes and moreover had taken him a good present of gold.

From Tehuantepec he (Alvarado) went to

the province of Soconusco, which at that time was thickly peopled by more than fifteen thousand inhabitants; they also received him peaceably and gave him a present of gold and surrendered themselves as vassals to His Majesty. From Soconusco he arrived near to another group of villages named Zapotitlan, and on the road at a bridge over a river where there was a bad pass, he came across many squadrons of warriors who were waiting for him to prevent his passage, and he fought a battle with them in which they killed a horse and wounded many soldiers and two of them died of their wounds. So numerous were the Indians who had joined together against Alvarado, not only from Zapotitlan but from other towns in the neighborhood, that in spite of the number that they (the Spaniards) wounded they were not able to drive them off. Three times they attacked Alvarado and it pleased Our Lord that he conquered them and they made peace.

From Zapotitlan the road led to a strong pueblo named Quetzaltenango, and before reaching it he had other encounters with the

natives of that pueblo and with others from a neighboring pueblo called Utatlan which was the capital of certain pueblos which in their turn are in the neighborhood of Quetzaltenango, and they wounded some soldiers and killed three horses, although Pedro de Alvarado and his people killed and wounded many of the Indians. Then there was a bad ascent for more than a league and a half through a defile. With the musqueteers and crossbowmen and all his soldiers in good order he began the ascent, and at the top of the pass he found a fat Indian woman who was a witch, and a dog (one of those they breed because they are good to eat and do not know how to bark) sacrificed. Further on he came upon a vast number of warriors who were laying in wait for him, and they began to surround him; as the track was bad and among mountains the horsemen were not able to gallop or turn swiftly nor to make use of their mounts, but the musqueteers and crossbowmen and soldiers with sword and shield fought stoutly with them hand to hand, and they went on fighting from the hill and pass downwards

until they reached some barrancas where they had another but not very severe skirmish with other squadrons of warriors which were waiting for them in those barrancas. This was owing to a stratagem which they had arranged amongst themselves in this manner; that as Pedro de Alvarado advanced fighting, they should pretend to retreat, and as he would go on pursuing them to where over six thousand warriors, men from Utatlan and other pueblos subject to them were laying in wait there they intended to kill them (the Spaniards). Pedro de Alvarado and all his soldiers fought with them with the highest courage, and the Indians wounded twenty-six or twenty-seven soldiers and two horses; nevertheless he (Alvarado) put them to flight, but they had not gone far before they rallied with other squadrons and turned to fight again, thinking to defeat Pedro de Alvarado. It was near a spring that they waited them so as again to come hand to hand, and many of the Indians would lay in wait by twos and threes near to a horse and try by force to pull it down, and others caught them by the tail. And here Pedro de Alvarado found him-

self in great straits, for the enemy were so numerous they were not able to bear up against the squadrons who attacked them from so many directions. Then he and all his men, as soon as they saw that they had either to conquer or die, fearing that they might not defeat the enemy, on account of the cramped position in which they found themselves, made a bold attack with the muskets and crossbows and with sturdy sword cuts, and obliged them to draw back somewhat. Then the horsemen were not slow in spearing the enemy and trampling them down and passing through them until they had them routed, so that they did not assemble again for three days. When he (Alvarado) saw that there was no longer any enemy with whom to fight, he remained in the open country foraging and seeking for food, without going to any settlement for two days. Then he went with all his army to the pueblo of Quetzaltenengo, and there he learnt that in the past battles they had killed two Captains who were Lords of Utatlan. While he was resting and tending the wounded he received the news that all the forces of those

neighboring pueblos were again marching against him; that a great number had assembled together and they were coming with the determination to die to the last man or to conquer.

When Pedro de Alvarado knew this he sallied out with his army to a plain, and as the enemy came on with such determination and began to surround the army and to shoot javelins, arrows and stones and (to attack) with lances, and as the ground was level, and the horses were able to gallop in all directions, he charged on the squadrons of the enemy in a way that soon made them turn their backs. Here many soldiers were wounded as well as a horse, and it seems that some Indian Chieftains from that peublo itself were killed as well as from all that country, so that after the victory those pueblos had a great fear of Alvarado, and the whole of the district agreed to send to him and beg for peace, and they sent him a present of gold of little value to induce him to make peace.

It was fully agreed between all the Caciques of all the pueblos in the province that they

should again collect a far greater number of warriors than before, and they ordered their warriors to assemble secretly among the barrancas of that town of Utatlan.

If they sent to ask for peace it was because Pedro de Alvarado and his army were in Quetzaltenango making expeditions and raids and continually bringing in Indian men and women as prisoners, and so as to induce him to go to another pueblo named Utatlan which was stronger and surrounded by barrancas, in order that when they had him inside, in a place where they thought they could get the better of him and his soldiers, they might attack them with their warriors who were already prepared and hidden away for that purpose.

Let us go back to say that when the numerous chieftains came before Pedro de Alvarado with the present, after making obeisance according to their custom, they asked his pardon for the past wars and offered themselves as vassals of His Majesty, and said that as their pueblo was large and in a pleasanter position and was nearer to other townships where they

could attend to him better, they begged him to go there with them.

Pedro de Alvarado received it (the present) with great (show of) affection, and did not understand the cunning they were employing, and after alluding again to the evil they had done in making war, he accepted their overture of peace. The next day early he accompanied them with his army to Utatlan for so the pueblo was called.

When he had made his entry, he saw what a stronghold it was, for it had two gateways, and one of them had twenty-five steps before entering the town, and the other entrance was by a causeway that was very bad and broken in two places, and the houses were close together and the streets narrow, and there were neither women nor children in any part of the town, which was surrounded by barrancas, and no food had been provided except what was bad and (that came) late and the chieftains were very shifty in their speeches. (Moreover) some Indians from Quezaltenango warned Pedro de Alvarado that that very night it was intended to burn them all in the

town if they remained there and that many squadrons of warriors had been stationed in the barrancas so that as soon as they saw the houses were burning they should join the people of Utatlan and attack them (the Spaniards) some from one side and some from the other and that with the fire and the smoke they would be helpless and would be burned alive.

When Pedro de Alvarado understood the grave danger in which they stood, he quickly ordered his Captains and all his army without delay to get out into the open, and he told them the danger they were in, and when they understood it there was no delay in getting out on to the level part close to some barrancas, for just then they had not time to get (right) out into the open plain from the midst of such dangerous passes.

Throughout this Pedro de Alvarado displayed good will towards the Caciques and Chieftains of that town and of the other towns in the neighborhood and told them that as the horses were accustomed to go about grazing in the fields for a part of the day, that was the cause

of his having come out of the town, as the houses and streets were so crowded. The Caciques were very sorrowful at seeing them depart in this way, and Pedro de Alvarado could no longer tolerate the treason which they had planned in concert with the squadrons that they had assembled, so he ordered the Cacique of the town to be seized and as justly ordered him to be burned, and he gave the lordship to his son. Then he promptly got out on to the level land away from the barrancas and fought the squadrons which had been got ready for the purpose I have mentioned, and after having thus provoked his strength and ill will, they were defeated.

Let us cease talking about this and say how at that time news had reached a large pueblo called Guatemala of the battles that Pedro de Alvarado had fought since he entered the Province, in all of which he had been victorious, and that at present he was in the land of Utatlan whence he was making expeditions and attacking many pueblos. As the people of Utatlan and their dependent pueblos were enemies of the people of Guatemala, the latter

determined to send messengers with a present of gold to Pedro de Alvarado and offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty and they sent word that if he had any need of their personal services for that war they would come.

Pedro de Alvarado received them with good will and gave them many thanks for their offer, and in order to see if what they told him was true, and because he knew nothing of the country, he sent to ask for two thousand warriors to shew him the way, and he did so on account of the many barrancas and bad passes that had been intentionally made in order to impede their passage, so that if it were necessary they (the native warriors) should put them in order and they could carry the baggage. The people of Guatemala sent them (the warriors) to him with their captains.

Pedro de Alvarado remained in the province of Utatlan seven or eight days, making raids against the rebel pueblos which had given their fealty to His Majesty and after giving it had risen in revolt. They branded many slaves and Indian women, and after the royal fifth was paid the rest were divided

amongst the soldiers. Then he went to the city of Guatemala and was received and entertained by the Caciques of that city who told him that nearby there were some pueblos on the border of a lake who were their enemies and made war on them and they held possession of a very strong rocky hill, and that the people of that pueblo although they knew well that they (the Spaniards) were not far off and that Pedro de Alvarado was with them, did not come to tender their fealty as the other pueblos had done, and they were bad people and of worse habits. The said pueblo was called Atitlan and Pedro de Alvarado sent to summon them to come and make peace, and told them that he would treat them well and sent them other smooth messages.

The reply they made was to ill-treat his messengers. Seeing that this availed nothing, he sent other messengers to induce them to make peace, and because he sent three times to ask for peace, and each time they used abusive words (to his messengers), Pedro de Alvarado went in person to them, and he took

with him over one hundred and forty soldiers and among them twenty musketeers and crossbowmen and forty horsemen and two thousand Guatemalans. When he arrived near the pueblo he again requested them to make peace, and they only replied to him with bows and arrows, and began to shoot.

When he saw this and that not far off there was a rocky hill in the water crowded with warriors, he went to the margin of the lake and two fine squadrons of Indian warriors came out to meet him with great lances and good bows and arrows and many other arms and corselets, sounding their drums, and with ensigns and plumes, and he fought with them for a good while and many of the soldiers were wounded, but the enemy did not remain long on the field but went fleeing for protection to the rocky hill, with Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers after them.

They soon gained possession of the Penol and many (of the enemy) were killed and wounded, and there would have been more if they had not all thrown themselves into the water and crossed to an island.

Then they (the Spaniards) looted the houses which were near the lake and went to a plain where there were many maize fields and they slept there that night. The next day early in the morning they went to the pueblo of Atitlan, for so I have already said it was called, and found it deserted. Then he ordered his men to scour the country and the orchards of cocoa trees of which there were many, and they brought in two chieftains of that pueblo as prisoners.

Pedro de Alvarado promptly sent these two chieftains, together with those who had been captured the day before, to beg the other Caciques to make peace, saying that he would give up all the prisoners to them and would receive them and pay them honor, but if they did not come he would wage war on them, as he had on the people of Quetzaltenango and Utatlan and would cut down the trees in their cocoa plantations and do all the damage he could.

At the end of more arguments with these promises and threats they soon came to make peace and brought a present of gold and

offered themselves as vassals to His Majesty.

Then Pedro de Alvarado and his army returned to Guatemala and were there some days without doing anything worthy of record, but all the pueblos of the neighborhood made peace, as well as others on the south coast named the Pipiles. Many of these pueblos which came to make peace complained that on the road by which they came there was a town called Escuintepeque where there were bad people who would not allow them to pass through their country, but came to rob their pueblos, and they made many other complaints against them, and they were not true, for persons whose words are worthy of credit say that they (the complaints) were made up, and he (Alvarado) went there to rob them of very beautiful Indian women and did not summon them to make peace.

Pedro de Alvarado determined to go to them with his entire force of horsemen, musqueteers and crossbowmen and many allies from Guatemala, and he fell upon them one morning by surprise and did them great damage and made many captures, and it

would have been better had he not done so, for, as in justice must be admitted it was an ill deed and not in accordance with His Majesty's commands.

And now we have told the story of the conquest and pacification of Guatemala and its provinces, and it is told more completely in a history which has been compiled of it by a settler in Guatemala, a relation of the Alvarados, named Gonzalo de Alvarado, where it can be seen more fully, in case I have here made any mistakes.

I say this because I was not present at these conquests (and did not enter this country), until the time that we passed through these provinces when they were all at war in the year 1524, and that was when we came from Higueras and Honduras with Captain Luis Marin, and we found ourselves there at the time that we were returning to Mexico, and moreover I state that we had at that time some warlike encounters with the natives of Guatemala and they had made many pits and impediments in bad passes among the mountains so that we should not pass on account of

the great barrancas, and even between a town named Cuajiniquilapa and Petapa in some deep ravines we were detained fighting with the natives of that land for two days for we could not cross a bad pass, and then they wounded me with an arrow shot, but it was a small matter, and we got through with great difficulty, although many warriors from Guatemala and other towns were stationed in the pass.

As there is much to tell about this and I am obliged to recall to mind some things which should come in their proper time and place (and all this happened at the time when there was a report that Cortes and all of us who had gone with him to Higueras were dead), I will leave it now and tell about the expedition that Cortes sent to Higueras and Honduras; I will also state that in this province of Guatemala the Indians were not fighters, for they only lay in wait for us in the barrancas, and with their arrows they did nothing.

APPENDIX III

MEETING WITH DIAZ

Account given by Bernal Diaz del Castillo of his meeting with Pedro de Alvarado in Honduras in 1526, and of their march to Mexico through Guatemala. Part of chapter 193 of the "True History of the Conquest of New Spain," translated by Alfred P. Maudslay.

. . . . PRESENTLY we struck the road to a pueblo named Maniani and found there six soldiers belonging to the company of Pedro de Alvarado who were searching for us, and one of them was Diego Lopes de Villa Nueva who is now a settler in Guatemala, and when we recognized each other we embraced, and on asking after their captain, Pedro de Alvarado, they replied that he was close by with many gentlemen who had come in search of Cortes, and they told us all that had happened in Mexico, which I have already related, and how they had sent to summon Pedro de Alvarado to become governor, and the reason

why he did not go, which I have stated in the chapter that treats of the subject. Continuing our march, within two days we met Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers near a town called Chuluteca Malalaca.

One can hardly describe his delight when he knew that Cortes had gone to Mexico, for it released him from the laborious journey which he was to take in search of him, and was a relief to them all.

. . . . To go on with our journey, we continued our march towards Guatemala. Before reaching the province of Cuzcatlan it rained heavily, and a river called Lempa came down in flood and we had no means whatever of crossing it, so we decided to fell a tree called a ceiba, and it was large enough to make into a canoe, larger than any that had ever been seen in these parts. With great labor we crossed the river in five days, and there was a great scarcity of maize. After the passage of the river we came on some pueblos which we called "los Chaparristiques" for such is their name, where the Indians, natives of those pueblos, killed a soldier named

Nicuesa and wounded three of our men who had gone to search for food. We went to rescue them, and they, (the Indians), were already routed, but in order to avoid delay they were left unpunished, and this happened in the province where now the town of San Miguel is settled.

From there we entered the province of Cuscatlan, which was hostile, and we found plenty to eat, and from there we came to some pueblos near to Petapa. The Guatemaltecos had some hills entrenched on the road and some very deep gullies, where they awaited us, and we were three days in capturing and passing them. There they wounded me with an arrow, but the wound was of no importance.

Then we came to Petapa, and the next day came upon this valley, which they called the valley of the cross-eyed, where now this city of Guatemala is settled. At that time it was altogether hostile and we found many barricades and pits and we fought with the natives to force a passage; and I remember that as we were descending a slope the earth began to tremble so that many soldiers fell to the

ground, for the earthquake continued a long time.

Then we went to the site of the old city of Guatemala, where the caciques named Zinacan and Sacachul used to reside. Before entering the city there was a very deep gully where the squadrons of Guatemaltecos were awaiting to prevent our entry, and we made them flee, unfortunately for them, and went on to sleep in the city, and the lodgings and houses were good and the buildings very fine, in fact befitting Caciques who ruled all the neighboring provinces. From there we went out to the plain and built ranchos and huts and stayed in them for ten days, for Pedro de Alvarado sent twice to summon the people of Guatemala and other pueblos in the neighborhood to make peace, and we waited the time I have mentioned to learn their reply. As none of them would come in, we went on by long days' marches without halting to where Pedro de Alvarado had left his army settled, for it was a hostile country and he had left his brother named Gonzalo de Alvarado there as Captain.

The village where we found them was called Olintepec, and we rested there several days and then we went to Soconusco and to Tehuantepec."

APPENDIX IV

THE LAS CASAS ACCOUNT

The following is extracted from the work of Las Casas entitled "Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias," written in 1540 and published at Sevilla, 1552. It was translated by F. A. MacNutt and published at New York in 1909.

Las Casas came to the New World in 1498 with Columbus and during the following fifty years he visited most of the countries conquered by Spain. He first visited Guatemala in 1532, on his way to Peru. Returning in 1534, he remained for five years, travelling in different parts of the country and preaching to the Indians. While his account of the atrocities, and particularly the number of Indians destroyed, is undoubtedly somewhat exaggerated, it is a very important historical document pertaining to the conquest.[22]

Let us again speak of the great tyrant captain (Pedro de Alvarado) who went to the kingdom

of Guatemala, who, as has been said, surpassed all past and equalled all present tyrants. The provinces surrounding Mexico are, by the route he took (according to what he himself writes in a letter to his chief who sent him), four hundred leagues distant from the Kingdom of Guatemala; he advanced killing, ravaging, burning, robbing and destroying all the country wherever he came, under the above mentioned pretext, namely, that the Indians should subject themselves to such inhuman, unjust and cruel men, in the name of the unknown King of Spain, of whom they had never heard and whom they considered to be much more unjust and cruel than his representatives. He also gave them no time to deliberate but would fall upon them, killing and burning almost at the same instant that his envoy arrived.

THE PROVINCE AND KINGDOM OF GUATEMALA

1. When he reached this kingdom he began with a great massacre. Nevertheless the principal lord, accompanied by many other lords of Utatlan, the chief town of all the kingdom, went forth with trumpets, tambourines and great festivity to receive him with litters; they

served him with all they possessed, and especially by giving him ample food and everything else they could.

2. The Spaniards lodged outside the town that night because it seemed to them to be strong, and that they might run some risk inside it. The following day the captain called the principal lord and many others, and when they came like tame lambs, he seized them and demanded so many loads, of gold. They replied that they had none, because that country does not produce it. Guiltless of other fault and without trial or sentence, he immediately ordered them to be burned alive.

3. When the rulers throughout all those provinces saw that the Spaniards had burnt that one and all those chief lords, only because they gave them no gold, they all fled from their towns and hid in the mountains; they commanded all their people to go to the Spaniards and serve them as their lords, but that they should not, however, reveal to them their hiding place.

4. All the inhabitants came to offer themselves to his men and to serve them as their lords. This compassionate captain replied that he would not receive them; on the contrary, he

would kill them all if they did not disclose the whereabouts of their chiefs. The Indians answered that they knew nothing about them but that the Spaniards should make use of them, of their wives and children whom they would find in their houses, where they could kill them or do with them what they wished. And this the Indians declared and offered many times.

5. Stupefying to relate, the Spaniards went to the houses where they found the poor people working in safety at their occupations with their wives and children, and where they wounded them with their lances and cut them to pieces. They also went to a quiet, large and important town, where the people were ignorant of what had happened to the others and were safe in their innocence; within barely two hours they destroyed it, putting women, children and the aged to the sword, and killing all who did not save themselves by flight.

6. Seeing that with such humility, submission, patience and suffering they could not break nor soften hearts so inhuman and brutal, and that they were thus cut to pieces contrary to every show or shadow of right, and that they must inevitably perish, the Indians determined to summon all their people together and to die

fighting, avenging themselves as best they could on such cruel and infernal enemies; they well knew, however, that being not only unarmed but also naked and on foot, they could not prevail against such fierce people, mounted and so well armed, but must in the end be destroyed.

7. They constructed some pits in the middle of the streets, covered over with broken boughs of trees and grass, completely concealing them; they were filled with sharp stakes hardened by fire, which would be driven into the horses bellies if they fell into the pits. Once or twice did some horses fall in, but not often, because the Spaniards knew how to avoid them. In revenge, the Spaniards made a law that all Indians of whatsoever age and rank whom they captured alive, they would throw into the pits. And so they threw in pregnant and confined women, children, old men, and as many as they could capture, who were left stuck on the stakes, until the pits were filled. It excited great compassion to see them, particularly the women with their children.

8. They killed all the others with lances and knives; they threw them to savage dogs that tore them to pieces and ate them; and when they came across some lord they accorded him the

honor of burning in live flames. This butchery lasted about seven years from 1524 to 1531. From this may be judged what numbers of people they destroyed.

9. Among the numberless horrible operations that this unhappy and accursed tyrant performed in this kingdom, together with his brothers (for his captains and the others who helped him were not less unhappy and senseless than he), was one very notorious one. He went to the province of Cuzcatan, in which, or not far distant, there is the town of San Salvador, which is a most delightful place extending all along the coast of the South Sea from forty to fifty leagues; and the town of Cuzcatan, which was the capital of the province, gave him the kindest of welcomes, sending him more than twenty or thirty Indians loaded with fowls and other provisions.

10. When he arrived, and had received the gift, he commanded that each Spaniard should take from that multitude of people as many Indians as he pleased for his service during their stay there, whose duty should be to bring them everything they needed. Each Spaniard took a hundred, or fifty, or as many as he reckoned would be sufficient for his service, and those

innocent lambs bore with the distribution, and served with all their strength, and almost adored them.

11. In the meantime this captain asked the lords to bring him much gold, because it was principally to that end that they came. The Indians replied that they were happy to give all the gold they had, and they collected a very great quantity of the hatchets they use which are made of gilded copper and look like gold, though there is little on them. The captain ordered that they should be tested and because he saw they were of copper, he said to the Spaniards: "to the devil with such a country! let us leave it because there is no gold, and let each one put the Indians who serve him, in chains, and I will order that they be branded as his slaves." This was done, and they marked as slaves with the King's brand, all they could bind. And I saw the son of the prince of that town thus branded.

12. When those Indians who escaped and the others throughout the land beheld such great iniquity, they began to collect and to arm themselves. The Spaniards did the greatest slaughter and massacre among them, after which they returned to Guatemala, where they

built a town; and it is that one which has now been by righteous decree of divine justice, destroyed by three deluges together; the one of water, the other of earth, and the third of stones much bigger than ten and twenty oxen.

13. Having thus killed all the lords and the men who could have made war, they put all the others into the aforesaid infernal slavery; they demanded slaves as tribute, so the Indians gave their sons and daughters as they have no other slaves, all of whom they loaded into ships and sent to be sold in Peru. By other massacres and murders besides the above, they have destroyed and devastated a kingdom more than a hundred leagues square, one of the happiest in the way of fertility and population in the world. This same tyrant wrote that it was more populous than the kingdom of Mexico; and he told the truth.

14. He and his brothers, together with the others, have killed more than four or five million people in fifteen or sixteen years, from the year 1524 until 1540, and they continue to kill and destroy those who are still left; and so they will kill the remainder.

15. It was his custom when he went to make war on some town or province, to take with him

as many of the Indians as he could, to fight against the others; and as he led ten or twenty thousand and gave them nothing to eat, he allowed them to eat the Indians they captured. And so a solemn butchery of human flesh took place in his army, where, in his presence, children were killed and roasted; and they would kill a man only to eat his hands and feet, which were esteemed the best bits. And all the people of the other countries hearing of these villanies, were so terror stricken that they knew not where to hide themselves.

16. They killed numberless people with the labour of building boats. From the South Sea to the North, a distance of 130 leagues, they led the Indians loaded with anchors weighing seventy and eighty pounds each, some of which wore into their shoulders and loins. They also carried much artillery in this way on the shoulders of those poor naked creatures; and I saw many of them loaded with artillery, suffering along the roads.

17. They deprived the husbands of their wives and daughters, and gave them to the sailors and soldiers, to keep them contented, and bring them on board the ships. They crowded Indians into the ships where they all

perished of hunger and thirst. And in truth, were I to recount his cruelties one by one I could make a big book that would astonish the world.

18. He built two fleets, each composed of many ships, with which he burnt, as though with fire from heaven, all those countries. Of how many did he make orphans! Of how many did he take away the children! How many did he deprive of their wives! How many wives did he leave without husbands! Of what adulteries, rapes and violence was he the cause! How many did he deprive of liberty! What anguish and calamity were suffered by many people because of him! What tears did he cause to be shed, what sighs, what groans, what solitude in this life and of how many has he caused the eternal damnation in the next, not only of the Indians, who were numberless, but of the unhappy Christians, of whose company he made himself worthy, with such outrages, most grave sins, and execrable abominations. And I pray God that he may have had compassion on him and be appeased with the bad death to which he at last brought him.

NOTES

[1] Zapotutlan was situated in the present Department of Retalhuleu. At the time of the conquest it was inhabited by Quiches, and it was here that Alvarado first came in contact with that tribe.

[2] The Samalá river.

[3] Santa Maria de Jesus. It is the present highway from the coast to Quezaltenango. Up to this time Alvarado had been marching through a tropical country at an elevation above the sea of only a few hundred feet.

[4] The meaning of this passage is obscure. Alvarado is possibly illustrating the bravery of the Indians.

[5] Quezaltenango, which is an Aztecan name applied to this place by the Mexican Indians accompanying Alvarado, was called in language of the country, Xelahuh. Its altitude is about 8000 feet. When Alvarado surmounted the pass (see note 3), he had reached the great interior plateau of Guatemala, varying in height from 5,000 to 8,000 feet above sea level, and dotted with volcanic peaks and mountain ranges as high as 13,000 feet.

[6] The capital of the Quiches, called Utlatan by Alvarado, is now known as Utatlan. It also occurs spelled Uclaclan, Ucaclan, Uilatan and Utlatlan, which latter spelling is probably the correct one, for it means

in the Nahuan language, "the place of the giant cane." The native Quiche name for the capital was Gumarcaah. As Brinton remarks, "the Spanish occupation brought with it thousands of Nahuatl speaking followers, who supplied the interpreters for the conquerors, and Nahuatl names became much more abundant, and were adopted by the natives in addressing the Spaniards. Thus the four nations mentioned as the original possessors of the land, are, in the documents of the time, generally spoken of by such foreign names. The Cakchiquels were referred to as *Tecpan Quauhtemallan*, the Quiches as *Tecpan Utlatlan*, The Tzutuhils as *Tecpan* Atitlan, and the Akahals as *Tecpan Tezolotlan*. In these names, all of them pure Nahuatl, the word *Tecpan* means the royal residence or capital." See D. G. Brinton, The Annals of the Cakchiquels, pp.12-13, Philadelphia, 1885.

The Spaniards fixed their settlement in the neighborhood of Utatlan, and called it Santa Cruz Quiche. Plans of the ruins of Utatlan have been made and published by Stephens, Sapper and Maudslay. They show that early accounts of the great size of the capital are greatly exaggerated, but they also exhibit great discrepancies in details of the distribution of structures. Mr. Maudslay's survey of the site was made in 1887. He writes that the ruins lie about two miles w. s. w. of the modern town of Santa Cruz Quiche. Before reaching the great barranca surrounding the site of the ruins, there is a group of mounds, ruined buildings, on

the summit of a terraced natural mound, about two hundred by one hundred and fifty feet in size. After leaving this small hill, about six hundred feet beyond brings one to the edge of the barranca and to a natural causeway by which alone the "city" could be reached. On crossing the narrow strip of land, one comes to a fairly level space of ground about eighteen acres in extent, with almost precipitous sides over which one can look down to the bottom of the barranca four hundred feet below. Nearly the whole area affords some trace of ruined buildings. Consult, "A Glimpse at Guatemala," by Anne Cary Maudslay, and Alfred Percival Maudslay, chapter viii, London, 1899.

Notwithstanding the wholesale slaughter of the Indians of Utatlan and vicinity by Alvarado, and the fleeing from the region of those who escaped, the vigor of the Quiches is evidenced by the fact that after matters became quiet, the place was again occupied by the intrepid aborigines. In a Description of the Province of Guatemala, written in 1594 by Juan de Pineda, is the following notice of the town of Utatlan:

El pueblo de Utatlan está asentado en un llano; es tierra ny fria ny caliente, de buen temple; es sana; está este pueblo cinco leguas del de Totonicapa, la tierra adentro hazia la sierra, en el camyno que va a la provincia de çacapula, que es el camyno que va a la provincia de Chiapa; los vezinos del cojen mucho mayz, axy, y frijoles; crian aves de Castilla y de la tierra; tienen mucha caça de venados, conexos y codornizes;

tienen todos caballos, a uno y a dos, y otros a tres; andan bien adereçados ellos y sus mugeres y hijos es gente limpia; estan rricos; dan poco tributo a Vuestra Magestad; podrian dar al doble sin que rresciban ninguna vejacion; visitan este pueblo los rreligiosos de Sancto Domingo.

[7] An estado is equal to slightly over 5½ feet.

[8] Oxib-Queh and Beleheb-Tzy, the two kings of the Quiches. They are called Ahpop and Ahpop Camhá, in the Annals of the Cakchiquels.

[9] In the Annals of the Cakchiquels, four hundred.

[10] Ever since the discovery of the South Sea by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1513, the Spaniards had been looking for a strait connecting it with the Atlantic.

[11] The capital city of the Cakchiquels was called Iximche, in the native language, the name probably being derived from that of a certain kind of tree. The Mexicans accompanying Alvarado call it *Tecpan Quauhtemallan*. The name later was extended to the province, and under the corrupt form of Guatemala, is now the accepted name of the Republic and its modern capital. Brinton has brought together information concerning this city. He writes that, "when the revolt of the Cakchiquels took place, Iximche was deserted, and never again fully inhabited. The Spaniards ordered the natives to settle in other localities; the fortifications of their capital were demolished, and many of the stones carried away, to construct churches and houses in other localities." It was described by Fuentes

y Guzman, in 1695, but the account is grossly exaggerated, in so far as it relates to a size and grandeur of the site. It was located on a lofty plateau entirely surrounded by deep barrancas, about eight leagues from Utatlan, and about twelve leagues from the present city of Guatemala. Three plans of the ruins have been made, respectively by Maudslay, Brühl and Sapper, but none of them agree in details. There is furthermore a map of the site in the work of Fuentes y Guzman, dating from the latter part of the seventeenth century, but it is largely fanciful. This map was published by Stoll from the copy of the manuscript in Madrid, the original of which is in the cabildo in Guatemala city. Brühl and Maudslay have republished it. The modern town called Tecpan is now near this site.

[12] Sinacam.

[13] Atitlan is the Nahuan name given to the capital of the Tzutuhils. It was located on the south shore of the lake of the same name. Practically all traces of the ancient site have disappeared. The modern town of Atitlan is near the place.

[14] There is no record of the Tzutuhils ever having rebelled against the Spaniards.

[15] Probably the modern Esquintla. The name is Nahuan. The present town of Esquintla is in the hot lowlands not far distant from the coast, not inland as Alvarado states. This, and all the following towns mentioned are on the lower slopes of the mountains, in tropical country.

[16] Like many other Indian towns it has disappeared. At Atiepar, Alvarado entered the country of the Pipiles, a branch of the Nahuan or Mexican people.

[17] This place was at or near the present port of Acajutla, one of the principal ports of Salvador.

[18] The ruins of this town, which was very large and important at the time of the conquest, are about one-half of a mile from the present town of Sonsonate.

[19] Atehuan is today called Ateos. Here, Alvarado entered the government of Cuzcatlan.

[20] Cuzcaclan, or Cuzcatlan, is a Nahuan name. It was the capital of the large and powerful tribe of Pipiles, of Nahuan or Mexican origin, which at that time ruled the country between the rivers Paz and Lempa. It was situated about five miles to the south of the present city of San Salvador.

[21] The first capital of Guatemala was founded at Iximche on July 25, 1524. It was not long, however, before the Spaniards were driven out, and they moved to Xepau, and in 1526, during the second rebellion of the Cakchiquels, they were forced to move again, to Olintepeque. On November 22, 1527, Jorge de Alvarado, acting governor in the absence of his brother Pedro, in Spain, founded a new capital, now known as Ciudad Vieja. This was destroyed by earthquake on September 10, 1541. A new capital was built near at hand (the present Antigua), which was also destroyed by earthquake in the year 1773, and shortly afterwards the Spaniards abandoned this valley and moved the

capital to its present site, in what is now known as the valley of Guatemala.

[22] Captain Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, the author of "Milicia y Descripcion de las Indias" printed in Madrid in 1599, wrote in 1612 a refutation of the strictures of Las Casas against the conduct of the Spaniards in the conquest of Latin America contained in his "Brevissima Relacion." It remained unpublished until 1879. It is entitled, "Discursos apológicos en controversia del tratado que escribió Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, obispo de Chiapa, en el año 1552, intitulado 'Destrucción de las Indias.'" This work was reprinted with the Brevissima Relacion of Las Casas in Biblioteca Económica de Clásicos Castellanos, Paris, Buenos Aires, n. d. It contains no mention of the acts of Alvarado in Guatemala, although the second discourse and apology takes up the matter of the conquest of New Spain by Cortés.

Helps in his life of Las Casas, in writing of the Destruction of the Indies, says that "it gives a short account of what had taken place in each colony, and is one of the boldest works that ever issued from the press. At that time (1540), it was not published, but submitted to the Emperor (Charles the Fifth), and his ministers. It is possible that in this, its first form, it was a still more daring production than it appears to be now; for in the printed copies there is not a single name given of the persons inculpated. These are generally spoken of as this or that 'tyrant.'"

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